THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

BY

Miss Krishnakumari Jethabhai Virji.

(Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy)

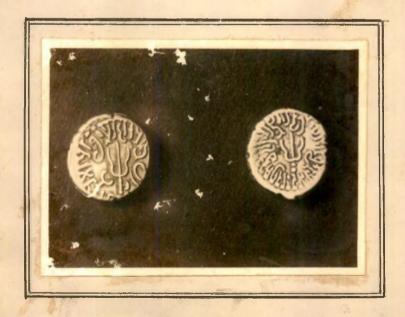
(959)

Indian Historical Research Institute
St.Xavier's College
BOMBAY.

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A MAITRAKA SEAL



THE VALABHI COINS

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I. = Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research
Institute.

Ant. Rev. = Antique Review.

As. Rev. = The Asiatic Review.

As. Res. = Asiatic Research.

B.I.S.M.Q. = Bharat Itihasa Samsodhana Mandal Quarterly.

Bom. Gaz. = Bombay Gazetteer.

B. of D.C.R.I. = Bulletin of the Deccan College Research
Institute - Poona.

B.I.C.H.S. = Bulletin of the International Committee of the Historical Science.

B.S.O.S. * Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

C.S.H.I. = Cambridge Shorter History of India.

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

Traimasika = Forbes Sabha Traimasika.

I.A.L. # Indian Art and Letters.

I.A. = Indian Antiquary.

I.C. = Indian Culture.

I.H.Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

Is. Cul. = Islamic Culture.

Jain. S.B. = Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara.

J.A.H.R.S. = Journal of the Andhra Historical Research
Society.

J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.B.H.S. = Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

s.B. E. = Sacred Book of the East.

S.B. H. Sacred Book of Hindus.

J.B.H.U. = Journal of the Benaras Hindu University.

J.B.I.S.M.Q - Journal of the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal Ow

J.U.P.H.S. = Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.

J.B.O.R.S. = Journal of the Bihara and Orissa Research Society.

J.B.B.R.A.S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

J.D.L. = Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.

J.I.H. = Journal of Indian History.

J.G.R.S. = Journal of the Gujarat Research Society.

J.I.S.O.A. = Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Arts.

J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.U.B. = Journal of the University of Bombay.

J.N.S.I. = Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

J.B.T.S. = Journal of the Pathiet Text Society.

M.M.K. = Mangu-Sri-Mula Kalpa.

M.B. = The Mahabodhi (Gournal of the Mahabodhi Society).

M.A.R. = Mysore Archaeological Report.

J.M.U. = Journal of the Madras University.

N.I.A. = New Indian Antiquary.

P.O. = Poona Orientalist.

P.1.M.S. = Proceeding of the Amidian Mistory Rongalic

J.M.S. = Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

C.H.I. = The Cambridge History of India.

V.C.C.Rept. = Vienna Oriental Congress Report.

Z.D.M.G. = Zeifschrift der Deutscheu Morgenlan dischess Gesellschaff.

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PART I

HISTORY

INTRODUCTOR

The early history of Surastra is enveloped in a mist of legend. According to one Puranic account the holy king Anartta who was a son of Saryati and grandson of Manu, is reputed to have had his capital at Kusasthali or Dwarika in Surastra. The legend further reveals that Anartta which corresponds to Northern Gujarat was also included in his dominions. Anaratta's son Revata succeeded him. Revata's grand-daughter Revati was married to a Yadava king Baladeva of Dwarika. This Baladeva, it is said, defeated Revata's son Raivata i.e. his own father-in-law, and ascended the throne, while the latter on losing his kingdom fled by sea.

Another puranic legend describes the Yadava family as descended from Yadu. The thirty-seventh descendent of this ruler was Satavahana, in whose family was born Vasudeva, the father of great Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. It was after the death of Vasudeva that the Yadavas left their old capital Mathura and settled at Dwarika. This change of capital was occasioned by the repeated attacks of Kṛṣṇa's maternal uncle Kansa, Kalayavana, a Deccan chief, and Jaransandha, the powerful ruler of Magadha or Behar. It is said that Kalayavana followed the fugitive Kṛṣṇa and his

^{1.} The Visnu Purana, IV, I, V, 19 to Ch. II, V.S., The Bhagavata Purana, XII, v. 22-24; Harivamsa, X, Cf. Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. I, p. 80.

^{3.} Mahabharata, II, 13, 5, 9; Harivamsa, XXXV, CXII.

companions as far as Surastra but he was reduced to ashes by the fire from the eyes of the sleeping sage Muchakunda, whom he had disturbed mistaking him for his enemy Krsna. event the Yadavas conquered Surastra from the demons, who had held it before them.

Baladeva and Krsna were in close alliance with their paternal aunt's sons the Pandavas who ruled at Hastinapura or Dehli. On a certain occasion when Krsna was absent at Hastinapura to attend the Rajasuya sacrifice performed by the Pandava king Yudhisthira, the Salva king of Mrittikavali in Saubha led an army against Dwarika, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. But on his return to Dwarika Krsna proceeded against the Salva chief, defeated and killed him. The Yadavas however, did not live to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Family feuds which soon broke out brought their sway over Surastra to a speedy end -36 years of after the Mahabharata war. The deserted Dwarika is there upon said to have been "swallowed" up by the sea.

We are then faced with a long blank in the historical tradition of Gujarat and Kathiawad. In fact it is only with the advent of the Mauryas in this country that the real political history of Gujarat begins. In the year 319 B.C. Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan rule, having consolidated his position

Of. Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt., I, p. 9.
 Mahabharata, Adiparva, 218, 21; One of these Pandava brothers named Arjuna married Krsna's sister Subhadra.

^{3.} Cf. Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, pp. 9-10.

^{4.} Mahabharata, Vanaparva, XIV, XXII.

^{5.} Bom. Gaz., I, pt. I, p. 11.

^{6. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 13.

in Magadha, was busy spreading his empire to the east and the He defeated successively Selecuos, Nicator, the Syrian king in about 304 B.C., and after that turned north-west and annexed Kathiawad. It is known from the Pali sources that during the Maurya regime there was a local dynasty in Kathiawad which was feudatory to them. Pingala, 'the kwam tawny-eyed prince' of this dynasty, we are told, actually ascended the throne in the 16th regnal year of Chandragupta's son Bindusara.4 It is not improbable that this family was in possession of Kathiawad when Chandragupta was arrived there in the course of his victorious expedition, and was allowed to continue its rule on agreeing to accept a feudatory status. Chandragupta, of course, appointed his own viceroys to look after the imperial interests in the west, and we have it in the Junagadha Rock inscription of Rudradaman (150 A.D.), that one of these viceroys (rastriya) was a Vaisya called Pushyagupta who has immortalized his name by building the famous lake Sudfarsana.5 Arthasastra, Kautilya refers to certain sections of the population of Surastra as belonging to a self-governing corporation of

VIII, pp. 36-49; Acharya, Historical Inscriptions from Gujarat, I, No. 6.
3. Mookerjee, op.et loc.cit.; Bhargava, Chandragupta Maurya, p.49

5. Keilhorn, op.et loc.cit.

^{1.} Mookerjee, Asoka, p. 72.

2. Keilhorn, "Junagadha Rock Inscription of Rudradaman," E.I.,

Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 429-30.

^{4.} Pettavathu, pp. 57-61 (iv,3); Paramatthadipani on Pettavathu, pp. 244-57; cf. Chatterjee, "A Historical Character in the Reign of Asoka Maurya," Acharya Puspanali Vol., pp. 331ff.

warriors (Kskatriya śrenis)¹. This would show that under the Mauryas Surastra probably enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

After Chandragupta's death in about 299 B.C. his son Bindusara succeeded to the Mauryan empire. Of his rule indeed which extended over a period of a quarter of a century, we know very little. He, however, seems to have kept his father's empire intact, and even added to his dominions so that when Asoka ascended the throne in the year c.269 B.C. the Mauryan empire had already assumed large proportions. Doubtless, Surastra continued to form a part of the Empire, and we have it or record that Yavanaraja Tushaspha, possibly a greek by birth, who further bentified the Sudarasana lake, was the Mauryan viceroy under Asoka. The latter continued the warlike traditions of his house and brought Kalinga, the part which was still outside Maurya dominions, under his rule. But he was not satisfied with

^{1.} Arthasastra, p. 378.

^{2.} Mookerjee, op.cit., p. 61; Rapson, C.H.I., I, p. 472; Smith,

Early History of India, p. 113, put it 297 B.C.; Raychaudhar:

Political History of Ancient India, p. 243.

^{3.} Rapson, op.cit., p. 495.

^{4.} Rargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 28. The Purana attribute 25 years reign to him, while the Pali sources give him 27-28 years.

^{5.} Rapson, op.et loc.cit.

^{6.} Allan, Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 34; Smith, Ashoka, p. 73.

^{7.} Ibid.

^{8.} Raychaudhari, Political History of Ancient India, pp. 236-7.

^{9.} Keilhorn, op.et loc.cit., line 8.

political unity alone. He wanted that his Empire should be one in religion as well so that he could bind the hearts of his subjects to himself by more substantial ties. Asoka's Kalinga edict reveals that he was stricken with remorse at so much blood that had been shed during his Kalinga campaign. Besides with no more territories of importance left to be subjugated, he could now well afford to be a pacifist. The religion of the Buddha suited his present mood. He accepted it, and wished that his subjects should share its blessings with him. With this end, he created a class of officers, the Dharma-Mahamatras. For he says: "Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rajuka, and the Pradesika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business." "The Lajukas also who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, - these too were ordered by me: "In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality."5 For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): 'the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well,' so the Lajukas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people."4 religion was to be one more link in the chain of allegiance to the throne.

^{1.} Hultzsch, C.I.I., I, p. 22, (R.E., XIII)
2. Hultzsch, op.cit., R.E., 3 c. (p. 29).
3. <u>Ibid.</u>, P.E., 7, no (p. 134).

^{4.} Ibid., P.E., 4,I, (p.124).

Edicts announcing the precepts of the new creed were set up in all important places. Forteen of them were carved at Junagadha the capital of the Mauryan viceroy in Kathiawad. It was at this time when Asoka was making frantic efforts to propagate Buddhism, that Pingala, his feudatory in the west undertook a journey to Pataliputra, to wean the Emperor, it would seem, from what he considered his mistaken zeal for the new Pingala had for sometime himself been a convert to Natthika-ditthi, a sort of atheism, which he had learnt from his general Nandaka. Probably he wished to demonstrate to the Emperor the mischief that would ensue in following the policy of promoting one creed at the expense of another, and that the wiser course for the state was to be laic. But the Emperor could not be deterred from his course. On the contrary Pingala himself was so overwhelmed by the infectious zeal of Asoka that he was won over to Buddhism.

These pacific tendencies of Asoka and his adoption of the Buddhist faith, it is believed, resulted in the rapid collapse and disintegration of the Mauryan Empire2 immediately on his death, in or km about 233-232 B.C.3 The centre was ruled over

3. Allan, C.S.H.I., p. 53; Rapson, op.cit., I, p. 422; Raychaudha:

op.cit., p. 293.

^{1.} Petavatthu, pp. 57-61.

^{2.} Banerji, Prehistorical Ancient and Hindu India, p. 92; "Asoka's adoption of the Buddhist faith and his intolerance of the orthodox Indo-Aryan religious practices must have produced great disaffection throughout the entire empire, just as the bigotry of Aurangzeb caused the Rajput was and subsequently paralysed the Mughals.

by his successors Dasaratha and Samprati, and according to the Puranic account king Brihadratha was the last ruler in the The latter ruled over a much diminished empire and was finally assassinated by his commander-in-chief, the Sunga chief Pushyamitra who seized the throne of Pataliputra. Thus the centre of the vast empire of Asoka passed to the Sungas.3 the south and the south-east the Andhras and the Kalingas carved out independent kingdoms. While the north-west of which Kathiawad was probably an appanage declared its independence under one of the descendent of Asoka himself. These western territories comprised the kingdom of Gandhara, and according to the Tibetan historian Taranath4, they were under Asoka's son Virasena . Saubhagasena, who was ruling over this kingdom in 206 B.C. when Antiochus, the Greek king of Bactria invaded the the country may have been a son of this Virasena. Antiochus probably wished to emulate the example of Alexander the great

^{1.} This account of the Puranas is also supported by Banas Harsacharita, a work written in the seventh century A.D.

^{2.} Rapson, op.et loc.cit. 3. As stated by Mr. Raychaudhari (cf.op.cit., p. 366) "The disintegration (of the Mauryan empire) which set in 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Garga Samhita and the Mahabhashya of Patanjali,"

Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 30

^{4.} Taranath, op.cit., p. 50.

^{5.} Allan, op.cit., p. 63. 6. The Sunga kings were ruling only at Magadha and has nothing to do with Surastra, a country which was probably included in Saubhagasena's territories; Raychaudhari, op.cit,p.301.
7. Prof. F.W. Thomas has suggested that Saubhagasena may have been

a grandson of Asoka, vide, Allan, op.cit., p. 63.

But in Saubhagasena, whom the Greeks call 'Sophagasenus', he met a powerful rival; or else he would not have given up the original intention with which he had started, and retraced his steps contenting himself with the gift of elephants from the Indian potentate. Says Polybius, "He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India: renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to Shortly after this invasion one Euthydemus of the Magnesias made a successful bid for the crown of Bactria. He had been casting wistful glances on "the land of the Five rivers" and sent his son Demetrius to conquer the north-west part of India in c. 185 B.C. Demetrius was accompanied by his son Demetrius II, his able general Menender and Apollodotus who was probably a brother of Demetrius. He was indeed very fortunate in commanding the services of these able lieutenants. resistance of Saubhagasena or his successor proved futile,

7. Ibid., p. 443.

^{1.} Polybius, XI, 34; Ch. XVII, p. 422 442.

^{2.} Tarn, op.cit., p. 74.

3. Hamilton and Fulconer, Straboll, p. 251; Rapson, op.cit., I, I, p. 440.

^{4.} Hamilton and Falcon, op.cit., XI, p. 516; Rapson, op.cit., I, p. 444.

^{5.} Tarn, op.cit., pp. 140-141.

^{6.} Rapson, op.et loc.cit.

and Demetrius himself subjugated the Indus Valley, while Apollodotus and Menander reduced Rajputana and Sagala (Sialkot between Chenab and Ravi). Following up their victory the Greeks under Apollodotus advanced as far as Kathiawad and Gujarat.2 Apollodotus made Ujjain his headquarters from which he administered his province, which seems to have included Kathiawad and Guiarat. In the meanwhile, Menander had penetrated into the Magadha country and was appointed viceroy at Pataliputra of the eastern part of the Greek Empire. But shortly after these successes in India Demetrius was killed and Bactria was seized by Eucratides. The Greek viceroys became independent in their respective provinces. Their independent status may be gathered from their coins found in various parts of their dominions. After the death of Apollodotus Menander took possession of the western provinces and/his death in 148 B.C. his kingdom passed to his son Soter I. Under Soter Kathiawad seems to have been administered by his Satrap Apollodotus II, and it is his coins which were later imitated by the Saka rulers of Surastra and Malava Castana and Nahapana. A few coins of Eucratides of Bactria are also found in thes region. But in the absence of any

^{1.} Tarn, op.cit., pp. 140-141.
2. lbid., p. 150; Raychaudhari, op.cit., p. 317.

^{3.} School, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 148.

^{4.} Tarn, op.cit., p. 152.

^{5. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 167.

^{6.} Ibid., p. 230; Sankalia, op.cit., p. 9; Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, pp. 16-18.

evidence of his sway over the country, it may be said that they were possibly left here by the Greek merchants, who must have brought them for the purpose of trade. The power of the Greeks in India however had by now already begun to decline, and towards the close of the first century B.C. they were replaced by the Partho-Scythians who entered India from eastern Iran, while the Greeks were confined only to the mountain-valleys of Afghanistan.²

In the part of Iran where they finally settled, the Scythians or the Sakas had freely intermarried with the Parthians and had been under the aegis of the Parthian rule welded into a united people. This Partho-Scythian state was at first tributory to the Farthian Emperor Mithradates II, but later shook off the Parthian yoke; and then started their series of inrodds into India.3 For it is found that while in Parthia itself the title of "king of kings" was claimed by no ruler from the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. to the accession of Mithradates III in 57 B.C. during the same period this very title was held simultaneously by two members of the Partho-Scythian royal house, which held sway over Drangiana, Arachosia and the Indian conquests. The first "king of kings" was in eastern Tran with a prince of the royal family associated with him in his government. The coinage bore the names of both, the

^{1.} Allan, C.S.H.I., p. 65.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 66
3. Rapson, <u>op.cit.</u>, I, p. 569; De La Valle Poussin, <u>L'Inde</u>
<u>Aux Temps Des Mauryas</u>, p. 266.

former's in Greek on the obverse, and the latter's in Kharosthi on the reverse, and while the king ruled in Drangiana, the prince governed Arachosia, in which doubtless Indo-Scythia, that is to say Sind was included. The second "king of kings" was in India who ruled with the aid of the Satraps and who before obtaining the sovereign dignity, generally exercised the functions of prince-consort in Iran. 1

The earliest of these Indian "king of kings" was Maues of the coins who is identified with king Mogha of the Taxila plate dated 78 of an unspecified era with a Parthian month, which must have commenced towards 150 B.C. and which probably marks the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into the Parthian Empire by Mithradates I in 150 B.C. Accordingly the inscription would be dated in c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues. Undoubtedly Maues-Mogha invaded India after the close of the reign of His coins are close imitations of those of Mithradates II.. the Greek dynasty which he had supplanted. He occupied Gandhara and drove a wedge between the Greeks of Kabul and those of eastern Panjab. Under Ages I and Azileses the eastern Panjab was brought under Scythian rule. They continued the cornage of Maues, but added the type of the Athenian Promachos, characteristic of the house of Apollodotus and Menander. Azileses

Ibid.
 Rapson, op.cit., I, p. 570; De La Vallee Pousin, op.cit., pxx2
 p. 267.

was associated in his government by Azes I, who succeeded him in c. 58 B.C. The latter ruled alone for some time and then had another Azes, Azes II associated with him whom Condopharnes succeeded in 19 A.J.¹.

Like Alexander, the Mauryas, and the Indo-Treeks before them, the ocythiao-Parthian Emperors followed the Achaemenia system of covernment by Satraps. We are not here concerned with the Satraps of the North, who made themselves independent in course of time, eventually to disappear with the coming of the Kusanas. We are only concerned here with the Satraps who built up an empire further south-west at Ujjain, an expire which endured till the end of the fourth century, and included besides Mālavā, the whole of coastal region of Kāthiāwād and Jujarāt. These Satraps are known in the history of India as mestern Ksatraps in contradistinction to those of the North. They could well have entered Surastra by way of the Indus. But the conquest of Surastira does not seem to have been effected in this manner. There is a close resemblance between the coins of Bhumaka and Nahapana and those of the Northern Ksatrapas espcially of Mathura (Muttra). This similarity while it points to the fact that they arew their inspiration from Mathura,

^{1.} Ibid., p. 267; Stek Konow, "Takht-i-Bahi record of the year 103", C.I.I., II, i. xlvi.

^{2.} Disc, bow and arrow to be round in the medallion of Sparilizes and Azes, the Partho-Scythian king of kings correspond to the arrow, disc and thunderbolt in the coins of the Ksaharatas. Then as for the language, it is seen that in the legend on the coins of Shumaka the same importance is given to Kharosti as to Brahmi. But already in the Legends on the coins of Nahapana Kharosti comes to be assigned a secondary place, while it disappear altogether after Castana. There is thus little doubt that the coinage of the Kstrapas is of Northern Origin. Rapson, J.R....., 1904, p. 371, of DelPossin, op.cit., p. 284.

would also show that the extention of the Scythian dominions towards the south-west was effected from that centre. 1

The Ksaharaths are the family that actually carried the Scythian standards into Malava and Surastra. The names of only two of its members have come down to us: Bhumaka and Nahapana. There is no documentary evidence to show what power was in actual possession of Surastra at the time. But we do know that Malava was then in the possession of the Satavahanas and the wide provenance of coins of Nahapana in this province as well as in Kathiawad and Gujarat would suggest that it was from them that the Ksaharatas wrested these countries.2 It is possible that with the decline of their power in India Gujarat and Wathiawad slipped from the grasp of the Greeks, only to fall into the hands of the Satavahanas when the latter acquired possession of Malava sometime before 125 B.C. Of Bhumaka, the first-named member of the Ksaharatas line we have only the name. Very little begond that has come down to us. But Nahapana appears to have been a ruler of conspicuous ability. The steady growth of his power is borne out by the titles which he assumed. While in the year 42nd he called himself simply "King Kstrapa Satrap"4 in the 46th year he could assume the style of "King grand Satrap master" raja maha Kstrapa Swami.

^{1.} K. Poussin, op.cit., p. 284.

^{2.} Rombay Gaz., I, pp. 32-33; Gopalacharya, op.cit., p. 50.

^{3.} Ibid., pp. 39 & 47.

^{#.} Rapson, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. CVIII; Rapson, J.R.A.S i.904,pp. 371-4.

^{5.} Ibid.

This would show that he ruled with independent rather than with dependent authority, a circumstance which was made possible by the declining power of his own Partho-Scythian over-lords who before long, perhaps in his own life-time were supplanted as an imperial power by the Kushanas. Nahapana's inscriptions, again, testify to the steady extension of his dominions. are eight of them at Nasik, Junar and Karli which prove that his kingdom extended from Poona in the heart of the Satavahana Empire, and Surparaka in the Konkan coast to Mandasor in Malava, and even further north as far as Ajmir. The glory of Nahapana's reign may also be estimated by the splendour of the monuments which were erected during his reign and which rank among the best in India. One of these is the Buddhist temple cut in the rock at Karli (in the Poona district), the immense nave of which according to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, equals in grandeur that of the Gothic churches. It is also noteworthy that the monuments containing the inscriptions of Nahapana at Junar, Karli (in the Poona district) and Nasik are all in the same style.

Nahapana would also appear to have inaugarated an era of his own, the Saka era, which as Mons. A.M.Boyr has demonstrated

^{1.} Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle," E.I., VII, p. 56; A.S.W.I., IV, p. 91.

^{2.} De La Vallee Pousin, op.cit., p. 288.

^{3.} Jouveau Dubreuil, op.cit., p. 20.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Ibid.

dated, from the commencement to his reign.

Nahapana's reign, however, ended in failure. He sustained a disasterous defeat towards the end at the hands of his contemporary Gautamiputra Sri Satakarani who boasts in, his Nasik prasasti that he Mdestroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Palhavas..... (and) rooted out the Khakharata race and restored the glory of the Satavahana family."3 The defeat of Ksaharatas must have taken place semetimes after 124 A.D. which was the 46th year of Nahapana, in the 18th regnal year of the Satakarani monarch. The inscription further relates that the latter was the king of 'Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha,

^{1.} R.D. Banerjee, Nilkanthasastra and Jouveau Dubreiul are, however, inclined to hold that it is more convenient to connect the dates given in Nahāpāna's records with his regnal years; Whether it is the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), or a Scythian era, in any case, there is bout to be a gap between Nahapana and Chashtana, and the former has to be placed in the beginning of the Christian Era between 25 and 50. The arguments advanced are as follows. If you place Nahapana in Saka 46 (= 122 A.D.) the events which are crowded between Nahapana and the Girnara inscription of Rudradaman dated Saka 72 (= 150 A.D.) will be too many. But Mons. Boyer has shown with a thorough-going analysis that they can be made to fit into without inconvenience between the two limits. Khakharata or the Saharata whom the Satarakarni king boats of having destroyed is Nahapana, and what is more when it is realised that the Kheta or field of Usavadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapana mentioned in Nasik inscriptions Nos. 5, 7, 9, 10 and of Karli No. 6 is the same field of Usabadatta which was donated by the Satakarani monarch as related in the Nasik inscription No. 13, the probability becomes a certainty. Add to this is identification of Nahapana with the Mambanous of Periplus (60 or 80 A.D.). Possein, op.cit., pp. 285-286.

Jouveau, Dubreuil, op.cit., p. 20.
 Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Cave at Nasik,", E.I., VIII, pp-61.

^{4.} Raychaudhari, op.cit., p. 415.

It leaves no room for doubt that the entire Kskaharata kingdom was overrun by the Satavahanas.

But the Satavahana hold on the northern provinces of the Kshaharata kingdom like Surastra, Malava and Gujarat could not have been as firm as that on the Deccan. For the coins of Nahapana that were restruck by Gautamiputra have come so far only from the Nasik district. 2 a circumstance which would seem to suggest that the Satavahanas were not long in possession of their northern conquests. In fact, we learn from the Andhau inscriptions that as early as S.S. 52 or 130 A.D. i.e. only six years after its conquest by Gautamiputra Malava had been lost to the Satavahanas, and was ruled conjointly by King Chastana and his grandson Rudradaman, who are both styled Kstrapas. This foreign titles, it has been pointed out, and the use of the Kharashti alphabet on his coins are sufficient to show that Chastana was a

^{1.} According to Dr. Raychaudhari (op.cit., p. 411) these places were: Asika (Arshika of Patanjali, IV, 22), Asaka (Asmaka on the river Godavari i.e. Maharastra), Mulaka (the district round Paithan), Suratha (Kathiawad), Kukura (in western or central India probably near the Pariyatra or the western Vindhyas), Aparanta North Konkan), Anupa (district around Mahismati on the Narmada), Virabha (Berar), and Akara-Avanti (East and West Malava) while Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil (cf.op.cit. p. 23) calls them: Suratha = Surashtra = Kathiawar; Akaravanti = Malava and Aparanta = the region along the coast, north of Bombay.

^{2.} Actually a place called Jogalthembi.

^{3.} Senart, op.et.loc.cit; Bhandarkar, "Deccan of the Satavahana

Period, "I.A., XLVII, pp. 69 and 149; XLVIII, pp. 77 ff.

4. Banerji, "The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradaman,"

E.I., XVI, pp 19.

a viceroy of some Northern power, and could have had nothing to do with the Satavahanas. Actually however, there is an indication that he may have been of the same lineage as Nahapana. his father's name Ysamotika is the Scythian equivalent of Bhumaka. We know that Malava was included in Hahanaha's kingdom. Was Chastana perchance its viceroy stationed at Ujjaini? Be that as it may, within 25 years of the resounding victories of Gautamiputra Satakarni, Rudradaman had not only fully retrieved the losses sustained by his house but as extended his rule over a vast Empire which stretched to the lower Indus valley in the Northwest, and central India in the east, and comprised the entire costal region of Kathiawad, Gujarat and the Konkan as far as south as Gokarna in Kanara. Of the place names occurring in his inscriptions Sarastra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa and Akaravanti, had actually formed part of Gautamiputra's dominions, and must have therefore been conquered either from that king or his immediate successor.

Rudradaman raised the Kstrapa state to a height of power and glory never before attained. The Junagadh Rock inscription

p. 423, note 1.).

^{1.} Raychaudhari, op.cit., pp.424-125. a symbol which is also seen on the Stavel

^{2.} From the symbol "Chaitya with three arches" on the wix coins of Chastana Dr. Jouveau Dubreauil (op.cit.,p.28), concludes that Chastana was a Satrap of Gautamiputra. However, the inference is unwarranted, because Chastana, being undoubtedly a Kskatrapa, belonged to the political system of the North.

3. Poussin, op.cit., pp. 284 and 286; Dr.Raychaudhari in disagreein with this view observes "Identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of person," (cf.op.cit.

of S.S. 72 attests this power, when it says that he "was resorted to by all castes (who) chose (him) as their lord to protect them" and that he "himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa". The inscription further adds that the Satakarani, the lord of the Dakskinapatha i.e. Deccan was twice defeated by him but spared because of their near relationship. This vanquished Satakarni was presumably Gautamiputra's son Vasisthiputra Satakarni, who was also Rudradaman's son-in-law.

Rudradaman apparently held court at Ujjain and governed the provinces through his viceroys. Surastra and Anartta (district round Vadnagar) were under his Pahlava amatya Suvisakha (the son of Kulaipa). The latter had constructed a new dam as the ancient Sudarsana lake. An idea of his benevolent administration may be obtained from the fact that this Sudarsana embankment was constructed with money that came from the royal exchequer and that the people of the town and the province were not called upon to bear the burden of the expenses by taxation, forced labour (visti), benevolences (pranaya) and the like.

After a splendid reign of over a quarter of a century, Rudradaman was succeeded by his eldest son Damaghsada I6.

^{1.} Keilhorn, "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman; the year 72", E.I., VIII, pp. 36 ff. line 9.

^{2.} Ibid., line 15.

^{3.} Ibid, line 12.

^{4.} Smith, op.cit., p. 222; Raychaudhari, op.cit., p. 425; Allan, op.cit., p. 66.

^{5.} Keilhorn, op.et loc.cit., line 15; cf. Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, p. 39 of he works trapes and testings of Surstra and Markettanes and Research of Surstra and Markettanes of Surst

According to Rapson our chief authority on this period, the reign of Damaghsada was "followed by a war of succession between his son Jivadaman and his grand-uncle Rudra Simha. The struggle works ended in favour of the latter, 2 but it had already undermined the royal prestige and as has often happened, power passed to the military chiefs. It is during Rudrasimha's reign that we notice the rise of the Abhira chiefs in the guise no doubt only of Senapatis or generals. But it was not difficult for them to turn the weakness of the royal house to their own advantage. There is an inscription of king Isvarasena, an Abhira, in cave X at Nasik, who have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to S.S. 100 or 178 A.D. The inscription while designating Isvarasena as king does not give the same title to his father Sivadatta, a circumstance from which it has been concluded that Isvarasena was the first member of the family to enjoy a regal status. No doubt his kingdom had been carved out round about Nasik mostly from the territories of the Satavahanas, who were also declining during this period. However, it was not long befor the Abhiras attempted to impose their sovereignty over the dominions of their exstwhile masters. And from the provanence

^{1.} Ibid.; Banerji and Sukthankar, "Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions,"
E.I., XVI, p. 236; Buhler, "A New Kshatrapa Inscription," I.A.
X, pp. 157 ff.

^{2.} Rapson, Gaballagereid, Judian Coins p. CxxIII.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} D.R.Bhandarkar, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14, pp. 230-231.

of the coinage of Isvaradatta, who, it is agreed on all hands, was an Abhira king ruling between 236 and 239 A.D., in Malava, Kathiawad and Gujarat, it has been supposed that he actually brought or sought to bring all these regions under his sway.

Rapson has observed that from 295 A.D. to c. 340 there were no Mahakshtrapas. The elder branch of the family came to an end after 305 A.D. and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The title of Mahakshatrapa, which had fallen out of use all this while, was revived sometime in 348 A.D. by Rudrasena III, who styled himself Raja Maha-Kshatrapa.

Rudrasimha III was the last Kstrapa king. He seems to have been at a man of some ability. He probably wished to make himself independent of the Guptas who under their great king Samudragupta had compelled his predecessor Rudrasena to acknowledge the the Gupta Supremacy. An opportunity offered itself when Samudragupta's powerful personality was removed by death and the Gupta throne was filled by his weak and incompetent son Ramagupta³

^{1.} Mr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 657) and Dr.D.R. Bhandarkar (A.S.Rept.) identify him with Isvarasena of the Nasik inscription. Rapson, while agreeing that he was an Abhira and even of the same dynasty as that of Nasik, is of the opinion that he was not identical with Isvarasena, and places him, (Isvaradatta) between 236-239 A.D. Rapson, Catalogue of Coins etc., pp. cxxxv-vi.

^{2.} Banerjee, Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. ; Saletare, Life in the Gupta Age, p.

^{3.} Altekar, "A New Gupta king2, J.B.O.R.S., XIV, pp. 223ff; Rama-chandra and Gunachandra, Natyadarpana (B.G.O.S., 1929), p. 86; Sarasvati, "Devichandraguptam," I.A., LII, p. 183.

Encouraged by the success which attended his bold assertion of independence, the Saka king next invaded the Gupta dominions. The Saka armies seem to have carried all before them and compelled the Gupta monarch to agree to a humiliating treaty. By the terms of this treaty Ramagupta consented to give away his queen Dhruvadevi to his victor. But Chandragupta, the younger brother of Ramagupta was touched to the quick and incensed at this insult to his family, and according to a tradition recorded in various literary sources, going upto the eleventh century A.D., he killed his brother marry and his widow and vanquished the Saka king.

This event is placed in the year 378 A.D. 6 Chandragupta II

^{1.} Bhandarkar, Malavia Comm. Vol., p. 205; Fleet, C.I.I., III, pp. 1827; Smith, "Revised Chronology of the Early or the Emperial Gupta Bynasty," I.A., XXXI, p. 259; Allan, Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, pp. xxxii-xxxiii; Banerjee, Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 220; Bhandarkar, op.cit., XXI, p. 9.

^{2.} Altekar, op.et loc.cit., Ramachandra and Gunachandra, op.et loc.cit.; Sarasvati, op.et loc.cit.

^{3.} It is more likely that the name of this king was Ramagupta rather than Kacagupta, as it is clearly given as Rama and not Kaca in the Devichandraguptas. Secondly, the Muslim chronicles also mention this name as Rawwal, which appears to be a corruption of the name Rama and not Kaca (cf. Elliot, op.cit., I, pr. 110-111). These two authorities viz. Visakhadatta and the Muslim chronicles are the earliest and the latest sources of information, and they specify the precise name of this Gupta ruler as Ramagupta.

^{4.} Bhagwanlal Indraji, J.R.A.S. (1890) p. 639, (1899) p. 357; Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha," E.I., XVIII, pp. 255 & 48; Bana, Harsacharita, p. 194; Rajasekhara, Kavyamimasa, Ch. IX, p. 47;

^{5.} Elliot, History of India, I, pp. 110-111.

^{6.} Banerjee, op.et loc.cit; Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age, p. Dandekar, A History of the Guptas, p. 108.

followed up his victory and before long dislodged the Sakas from Malava. For in an inscription at Udayagiri in Malava dated 401 A.D. we find his feudatory Sanakanikar Maharaja acknowledging his overlordship. 2 From Malava, the Guptas carried their onslaughts into Surastra and by 409 A.D.3 they were in undisputed possession of Surastra. According to the bardic account the conquest of Surastra was affected by Chandragupta's son prince He was appointed viceroy of the province, and the house of the western Satrapas which had ruled with power and glory for a period of wel nigh four centuries was brought to a close.

Of the history of Surastra during Kumaragupta's reign we know very little. But it is on record that in the succeeding reign of his son Skandagupta Surastra was ruled over by Parnadatta who was one of his viceroys.5 Surastra formed an important province of the Gupta Empire, thanks no doubt to its position as an emporium of foreign trade. What the inscription says, therefore is not surprising that "Skandagupta had to deliberate for nights and days" before he could make a choice of the incumbent for this office. Parnadatta signalised his administration of Surastra by

^{1.} Kalinuga-Raja-Vrttanta of the Bhavisyotara Purana, cf. Bhattacharya, "New Light on the History of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty," J.B.R.S., XXX, pp. 32-33. cf. Krishnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, ciii.

^{2.} Fleet, "Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II," C.I.I. III, p. 21.

Banerjee, op.cit., p. 288; Allan, op.cit., p. xxxviii.
 Watson, "Legends of the Earlier Chudasama Ras of Junagadha,"

 I.A., II, pp. 312 ff.

 Fdeet, op.cit., pp. 62-63.

^{6.} Ibid.; Parnadatta was also called Farnahata by the Persian chronicles, cf. Dandekar, op.et loc.cit; Jarl, Charpentier, "Farna Data, Neberg", J.R.A.S., (1931a, p. 40.

the repairs he carried out to the Sudarsana lake and by erecting a temple to the God Visnu. He was probably followed by Bhatarka, as vicercy For though we have no certain date for the latter the earliest known date for Maharaja Dronasimha, his son who was the third ruler in succession is available viz. V.S. 183 i.e. c. 502 A.D. If we allow a period of thirty years for the first two rulers (viz. Bhatarka and Dharasena I) we arrive at 472 A.D. as the Starting point of the career of Bhatarka. Now the above mentioned Junagadha Rock Inscription of Parnadatta is dated G.S. 138 i.e. 457 A.D. This surely makes him a predecessor of Bhatarka.

^{1.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.; Acharya, Historical Inscription of Gujarat, I, No.

Gujarat, I, No.

2. Jackson, "The New Valabhi Copper-Plate," J.B.B.R.A.S., XX, pp. 1 ff; Barnett, "Bhamodar Mohota Plate," E.I., I, pp. 17-19; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 16.

^{3.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.; Acharya, op.et.loc.cit.

ORIGIN OF THE MAITRAKAS

The family to which Bhotasaka belonged is given in

The copper-plate grants of this ruling family of Valabhi give its name as Maitraka. The inscriptions begin with the expression "Prasabha-pranata-amitranam Maitrakanamatula-balasaptna-mandala-abhoga-sansakta-samprahara-sata-labdha-pretapahsri-senapati-Bhatarka." But it was not till comparatively recently that this expression was interpreted correctly. 'prasabha-pranata-amitranam-Maitrakanam' was construed with the word 'mandala' and the word saptana was misread as 'sampanna'. The word 'Maitraka' was taken as a common noun derived from 'Mitra', with the result that the passage was wrongly translated as "(Bhatarka) had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of Maitrakas who were endowed with incomparable courage." Accordingly to this earlier reading the Maitrakas were believed to be a powerful tribe who were defeated by Bhatarka. reading seems to have been responsible for the view held by Drs. Fleet, Bhagavanlal Indraji and others who believed that while the family of Bhatarka himself was indigenous, the Maitraka tribe was of foreign origin. The reading was corrected by

^{1.} Mandalik, "Three Walabhi Copper-plates," J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 346; Keilhorn, "A Copper-plate Grant of Siladitya I off Valabhi," I.A., XIV, p. 327; Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant," I.A., I, p. 14; Buhler, op.cit., IV, p. 106.

^{2.} Fleet, "Sanskrit and Canaree Inscriptions," I.A., VIII, p. 303.
3. Bom.Gaz., IX, p. 479; Bom.Gaz., I, p. 81.

later scholars, and it is now definitely accepted that Bhatarka belonged to the Maitraka family: "(In the race) of the Maitrakas, who prostrated (their) enemies by force, (was born) the devout worshipper of Mahasvara, the glorious (senapati) Bhatarka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles, fought with a vast crowd of enemies of unequalled strength." But none of the early scholars regarded the family of Bhatarka as of foreign origin. Their statement referred only to the people conquered by that monarch. Hence it is natural that their views should have been influenced to a considerable extent by this circumstance. Now that we know that Bhatarka himself belonged to the Maitraka family, their views can no longer be cited to support the origin of the Maitrakas.

The main consideration that led these scholars into regarding the Maitrakas as foreigners was their supposed connection with the Mihiras and their predilection for sunworship. While, of course, both Mitra and Mihira are synonyms for the 'Sun', the derivative Maitraka is never used in Sanskrit

p. 322.

^{1.} It was Mr. Mandalik (cf. J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 346) who first suggested that word 'Maitraka' should be taken as a proper nown and it was accepted by other scholars. For a similar construction is seen in the copper-plates of other dynasties such as that of the Vākātaka, the Traikutaka and others; Thus showing the popular usage of the genetive plural to denote the name of the dynasty of the donar.

2. Hultzsch, "Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I," E.I., III,

literature in the sence of Sunworshipper. Even, however, admitting for the sake of argument that the term has this meaning, that thesis falls to the ground, for we find that the royal religion of the Maitrakas was Saivism and that neither Bhatarka himself nor any of his immediate successors was a devotee of the Sun. Out of the nineteen Valabhi kings only one, king Dharapatta, fifth in order of succession, is styled a worshipper of the Sun. But as the latter was neither the founder of the dynasty nor a ruler of great importance it is sufficiently clear that the designation of Maitrakas is not to be connected in any way with the worship of the Sun.

Mr. Jagan Nath tries to equate the designation with the word 'Maitreyaka', ⁴ meaning a particular caste whose business it was to praise great men, and concludes that the Maitrakas may have been the bards of the Guptas. However, in the light of the information supplied by the Manu Smrti⁵ and the Vaijayanti, ⁶ it is clear that the Maitraka tribe was different

^{1.} Jagan Nath, "Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhi," I.C.,

V, p. 408.

2. Buhler, "Valabhi Grant of Dharasena II", I.A., VII, p. 71.
line 11.

^{3.} Bhau Daji believed that the Maitrakas succeeded the Shahas.
This conclusion is drawn from a Valabhi plate which is not translated properly, according to it the Shahas were triumphed over by the Sunworshiping people. But now that we know that the Maitrakas were not a sun-worshiping tribe the theory falls to the ground. Cf. "A brief survey of Indian Chronology from 1st of the Christian Era to the 12th,"

J.B.B.R.A.S., VIII, p. 244.

^{4.} Jagan Nath, op.cit., p. 409.

^{5.} Manu Smrti, X, 33,

^{6.} Vaijayanti, manusyadhyaya, 163b, 105, (64-121), 53-9, (Compiled by Yadavaprakasa).

from the Maitreyakas in origin as well as in the profession of its members. According to the Manu Smrti a Maitreyaka "ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men:"1 and a Maitra 2 was born of one of the five Vratyas of the Vaisya caste. The Vaijayanti explains the Maitras as those born of a remarried Vaisya (Vaisyapuravika, i.e. a mother who had formerly married a Vaisya) to a Vaisya-Vratya. the point of the respective professions the former work is silent; but the latter represents the Maitrakas as people serving as worshippers in Buddhist temples. Let the matter,

^{1.} Manu Smrti, X, 33, (p. 410).
2. The words 'Maitra' and 'Maitraka' are identical according to the lexicon Vaijayanti (cf. 103b, 105, 64-121 of the Manusyadhyaya). The suffix (taddhita) 'ka' is often added(to a substantive) in the Sanskrit literature without changing the original meaning of a word.

^{3.} Manu, X, 23, (p. 407). Mr.Kane explains the Vratyas as a group of people who was spoke the same language as orthodox Aryans but they did not follow their discipline about habit. In the Manusmrti (II, 42; X, 20; XI, 63) and the Vaijayanti, the Vratyas are explained as those who have not undergone Upanayana ceremony in due time and hence they were not priviledged to receive the sacred Savitri verse

Called the Gayatri.

That they were known as Vratya Vaisyas suggests their outlandish character. However, their customs and manner were not quite consistence with and similar to the Vaisyas, hence the Smrtikars classed them as Vratya Varnas. Although they were Vaisyas they followed the profession of Kshatriyas and hence called Kshatriyas by Hiun Tsiang.

^{4.} Vaijayanti, Manusyadhyaya, 53-59.

^{5.} Ibid., V, 103.
The Gurjara records refer to the Valabhi kings simply as the lords of V-alabhi and do not call them the Maitrakas. The Vayu Purana does not mention the name of the Maitrakas among the numerous royal dynasties enumerated therein.

however, not rest on this testimony. Even grammatically the two words have different derivations. Maitraka comes from 'Mitra', while Maitreyaka is derived from 'Mitra'. Hence this suggestion also cannot be accepted.

The copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas do not assist us in tracing the origin of the dynasty as such, but simply tell us that they were a warlike tribe, distinguished for great power, whose centre of activity was Valabhi in Surastra and that their family religion was Saivism. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang describes them also as Ksatriyas. In the later Mahayanic work, the Manju-sri-Mula-Kalpa, the chronicler while dealing with the provincial history of western India represents them as the Varavatya Yadavas. This Buddhist tradition is coroborated by a Jaina tradition recorded in the Satrunjaya-Mahatmya which describes one king Siladitya of Valabhi as the ornament of the Yadava family of the Lunar race.

^{1.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 269; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 246. 2. Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 26, v. 605-9.

Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 26, v. 605-9.
 Ibid.
 Dhanesvarasuri, Satrunjaya Mahatmya, V, 14, Sarga 1.
 (Tr. by Popatlal Prabhudas, pp. 2, 755, Sihor).
 A bardic tradition preserved and as gathered by Major Watson (I.A.,II, pp.312 ff) and Tod (Annal and Antiquities of Rajastana I, pp. 100 & 255) connects the Valabhi kings with the solar race of Ayodhya by representing them as the ancestors of the Guhilots. However, this tradition is shown to be false in chapters on political history as also proved by Oza (Rajputanaka Itihāsa, I, pp. 369-70). Its origin was probably due to the confusion made between the last king Siladitya of Valabhi (c. 766 A.D.) with the king Siladitya, the fifth ruler of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewad who flourished round about 646 A.D.

Thus, without going into details about the meaning of the words we may conclude that the Maitrakas were the Ksatriya clan of the Yadava race, and that their origin may probably be traced in the Mitra dynasty that ruled over the region round about Mathura. This conclusion is supported by scholars who have based themselves on the evidence of some coins issued by kings whose names ended in 'Mitra.'

^{1.} In his Bengali work the <u>Prachina Mudra</u> the late Mr. Benerjee drew attention to that fact that several rulers in ancient India whose coins are discovered in abundance in the Panchal country had their names ending in "Mitra". From (pp. 106-8). From this Mr. Manshankar Mehta inferred the rule of a Mitra dynasty over that region during the fourth century A.B. (Cf. Mevadana Guhilo, p. 97). Prof. D. R.

Bhandarkar agreed with this theory and further suggested that this Mitra dynasty of Panchala, Kośala and Mathura were prototypes of the Maitrakas who ruled over Gujarat and Mikk Kathiawad (I.A., LXI, 70). Mr. D. Shastri who has supported this view (Traimasika, I, 173-78) states that the Valabhi kings were the Kshatriyas of the Maitraka dynasty whose origin may obviously be traced in the Mitra dynasty.that flourished round about Mathura. (Ibid.)

SRI BHATARKA

The founder of the Maitrakas of Valabhi was thus Sri
Bhatarka. In all the Maitraka copper-plate grants, he is
mentioned with great respect and is accorded the pride of phace.

Even his remote descendants never failed to express their
admiration for him and do honour to his memory. All the
Valabhi coins that have been found till now have on them the
legend of Bhatarka. This does not mean that these coins
stamped with the name of Bhatarka were all issued by him only.

Such coins must have also been issued by his descendants. Consequently, if they allowed his name to remain and refrained from
substituting their own in its place, the conclusion would be
that they wished to respect the memory of their progenitor.

The fact that the legend on the seals of all the Valabhi copperplate grants is "Sri-Bhatarka" also points to the same conclusion.

from the inscriptions it may be inferred that Bhatarka was not an upstart. The following description occurs at the beginning of almost every inscription of the Valabhi kings with reference to the founder of the family - the great king Bhatarka:-

"Maula-bhrita-mitra-sreni

- bal - avapta - rajyasrih."

This passage has been translated by Dr. Fleet as "(He) who

^{1.} For other spellings of Bhatarka's name see foot note No. I on p. 40 of this chapter.

acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends," and this rendering is followed by Kielhorn, Hultzsch, and Sten Konow.4 As pointed out by N. G. Mazmudar, however, this passage has to be interpreted in the light of the Mahabharata and the Arthasastra. The words Maula, Bhrita, Mitra and Sreni are technical terms in Hindu polity. Bala means 'army' which consisted of four arms, viz. Maula, 6 (hereditary), Bhrita (hired), Mitra (allied), and Sreni (guild).

It is interesting to observe the part played in those days by guilds in military affairs. The Harivamsa speaks of guilds as participating in warlike activities, when it describes the fatal wrestling match between Krsna and Kamsa. We are told

^{1.} Fleet, "Maliya Copper-plate Inscription of the Maharaja

Dharasena II, V.S. 252", C.I.M., III, pp. 167-168.

2. Kielhorn, "Wala plates of Siladitya I, of the year 286," I.A. XIV, p. 329.

3. Hultzsch, "Paper on the Ganeshgad Plates of Dhruvasena I,"

E.I., III, pp. 322 ff.

4. Sten Konow, "Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I," E.I., III, pp. 108 ff.

^{5.} Mazumdar, "A passage in the inscription of the Maitrakas of Valabhi," I.A., XLVIII, pp. 207-208.
6. The word 'Maula'occurs also in a Mau Chandella-stone Inscription of Madanavarma, (cf. E.I., I, p. 201, 1.23.). In this inscription Maula Prithvivarman, who is appointed the king's minister, is described to have been an expert in mounting olaphants, hargas, and shariots and skilled in archary.

elephants, horses, and chariots and skilled in archery.

7. Harivamsa, Visnu-Parva, 29, 5 (p.224) "Sva-karmma-dravya-yaktabhih-patakabhir-mrantaram-steninam-cha-ganananch manchabhanty-achal-opamah." Further we see in Kalidas' Raghuvamsa, IV, p. 26 that in the Hindu political treatises the army is described as consisting of the six elements:

'Sadavidhini Balama-daya Pratyasthe Digajigsya Maulam Bratyah Subachbani Dvisdatvikam Balama. Bratyah Suhachhani Dvisdatvikam Balam.

that: "The pavilliaus of the different companies and corporations vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts." This is exactly what we find in the Mahabharata where Dhrtarastra describing the ideal type of an army also indicates the important part played by the guilds in the political affairs of the country Similarly, Kautilya while dealing with equipment of the forces enumerates their constituents, when he says "Sa maula-bhrita-sreni, mitra-amitra-atavi-balanam saraphalgutani vidyat." These ancient Indian guilds may thus be compared to the Italian guilds of the middle ages and like the latter they presumably also maintained huge armies.

From the mention of hereditary troops it would appear that Bhatarka was born in a family of military leaders. In course of time he must have been obliged by circumstances to enforce absolute control over the province under him when the Gupta empire was thrown into confusion as a result of external aggression and internal difficulties. When Skandagupta was husy

Dutt, A Prose English Translation of Harivamsa, LXXXIV,p.360.
 'adadita balam-raja maula-mitra-balam tatha-atavi-balam bhritam-ch-aiva-tatha sreni-balam prabho" Asram-vasika Parva, Ch. &, sloka 7.

^{3.} The passage from Arthasastra (140) quoted by Mazmudar while discussing the Valabhi inscriptions, cf. I.A. XLVIII, p. 208
"He shall know the exact strength or weakness of hereditary troops (maula), hired troops (bhrta), the corporate body of troops (sreni), as well as that of the army of friendly or unfriendly kings and of wild-tribe," Arthasastra, (140) p.170

^{4.} Bhatarka was probably residing at Wamanasthali as a military head, and as bards narrate he placed a governor at the place when he went to Valabhi and established the kingdom.

fighting hordes after hordes of foreign invaders, Narendrasena Vakataka and his son Prithvisena II took advantage of the situation and established their sovereignty in Kosala, Mekhala, and Malaya. 2 This would explain why these countries were not recorded in the Gupta inscriptions for a long time. subordinate allies of the Guptas like the Traikutakas,/also profited by their difficulties to assert their independence. The Traikutaka Dahasena accumalated power during these disorders as is seen from the fact that he performed the Asvamedha sacrifice and struck his own coins and called himself 'master of Aparanta'3 literally meaning 'the lord of western end.' As the Bhitari inscription shows, the Pushyamitras were also becoming powerful, a clear sign of the decline of the Gupta power, during this period. Besides it is known that Skandagupta succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Hunas in about 470 A.D. 4 when the Hunas advanced into the interior and attacked the heart of his empire, he was unable to continue the resistence. It would also appear that though he had came out victorious in the war of succession with his brother Purogupta, the civil war must have gone a long way in weakening the Gupta power. The unity of the empire was sapped and disintigration followed in its wake.

^{1.} Dandekar, op.cit., p. 117.

^{2.} Kielhorn, Balaghat Plate of the Vakataka Maharaja Prithavisens II', E.I., IX, pp. 270 ff.
3. Hultzsch, Pardi Inscription, E.I., X, pp. 51-53.
4. Smith, The Early History of India, p. 328.

^{5.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

These difficulties were also availed of by the class of the hereditary governors and the feudatory chiefs who had grown up in the empire in its latter days and who carved for themselves independent kingdoms in their respective provinces. They are now found assuming regal titles such as mahāraja etc. Feudatories like the Mankharies of Madhyadēśa, kings of Navyavakasika Vardhamāna and Karnasuvarna in Bengal also sēized this opportunity. Predecessors of Govinda Gupta who was presumably the viceroy of Malava also refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors of Magadha at this time, while Yasodharman the ruler of Mandasor must have followed in their footsteps in asserting his independence and acquiring sovereign power.

It is to be supposed that when the control from the centre was relaxed Bhatarka also followed the usual course, making

^{1.} That the Mankhari power was strengthened during this period can be seen from their stone inscriptions. Half a century later they are recorded in the inscription of Isanavarma to have control over the Bara-Banki, Jaunpur and Gaya districts of U.P. and Bihar. All these parts formed integral parts of the Gupta empire in the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries of the Christian era.

^{2.} Raychaudhary, Political History of Ancient India, p. 534.

^{3.} Dandekar, op.cit., p. 120.
4. 'Mandasor, the ancient Dasapura was one of the most important viceregal seats of the early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margrave who governed part of Western-Malava on behalf of Emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya and his son Kumaragupta I, Mahendraditya.' But with the gradual development of power a new scene opened with Yasodharman's sway over that province.

himself independent in his own province. This was indeed a turning point in the history of the Maitrakas, an achievement for which he may have been called Bhatarka by his descendents which literaly means a hero.

The fact that Bhatarka founded Valabhi shows that he almost assumed independent powers, but still retained the title of Sēnāpati, and did not dare to call himself maharaja for fear that it might be contested. This proceeding is not without parallel in Indian history, when empires fall, the governors of the provinces become independent and preserve their former titles of honour. An instance in point is that of Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the great Vijayanagara empire, who though virtually independent, called themselves Mahamandalesvara, and not until the reign of Harihara II, the third king of the dynasty ventured to assume the imperial titles.

After asserting his independence, Bhatarka seems to have transferred his capital from Girinagar to Valabhi. This is confirmed by the epigraphical records, and Girinagar lost its

^{1.} The name Bhatarka which accrued to him on account of his heroism was by a not unfamiliar process, retained in the family records to the total exclusion, as it would appear, of the personal name.

^{2.} Diskaltar, "The Valabbi Grants," J.B.B.R.A.S., (N.S.) I, pp. 17 ff; Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. Fleet, op.et loc.cit According to the bardic tradition one Kanaksena from Ayodhya came first to Lahokot and when there to Birnagar in Surastra. There he took possession of it from a local province in 144 A.D. Four generations later his descendent Vijayaena founded Vijayapur (now Dhokka) and subsequently Valabhipura. Cf. Watson, op.et loclcit.

importance. According to the Bombay Gazetteer "its (Valabhi) choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhavanagar creek. The place was not so much inland as it is now. Since the days of Valabhi kings the silt which thickly covers the ruins had also filled and chocked the channel which once united it with the Bhavanagar creek when Ghela was probably a fair sized river."

It is difficult to ascerttain whether the Sanskrit Valabhi was the original name or whether Valeh is a corruption of the Prakrit form Valabhi. As mentioned above it is said that it was once situated on the coast-line of the Peninsula; however, it is strange that its name is not recorded by Periplus (80 A.D.) or by Ptolemy (150 A.D.) Jinaprabha-Suri,

^{1.} We getreferences of the Brahmins who migrated from Girinagar and settled down at various places round about Valabhi. One of such examples from the Valabhi grants is found in the Anastuplates (E.I., XXII, p. 114) where the donee had migrated from Girinagar and resided at Sraddhika. The earliest direct reference to Valabhi is perhaps in the Dasakumaracharita of Dandin (p. 225). The new capital Valabhi is represented by the modern site Vala situated in the east of Kāthiāwād, twenty miles to the west of Bhavanagar and twenty-five miles to the north of the holy Jaina hill Satrunjaya. The ruins of Vala consists of vast mounds and foundations of brick admidst which clay seals have been found inscribed with the well-known Buddhist formula 'Ye-dharma-hetuprabhavah'.

^{2.} Bombay Gazetteer. I, Pt. I, pp. 96 ff. However, it is stronge that its no Ibid., pt. p. 78. is not recorded by Parishus (co A.D.) or by Ptolemy (150 A.D.)

(4. Gujarat na Prachina Kinaram Bhugool, XII, Gujarati Sahitya

Parisad Samelana, possibly it had not acquired the importance it did

after it became the capital.

a learned Jaina mong of the thirteenth century describes the holy Jaina hill of Satrunjaya as being situated in the Valabaka province. This shows that he wens to have been familiar, with the Prakrit form Valabhi. The Sanskrit form Valabhi is found in the Kathasaritasagara, which though of a comparatively very late date treats of very ancient materials. 1

Of Battoraka's personal accomplishments, besides his military prowess, the inscriptions recound but a few details. He was a Saivite- a fact which is been out by the title 'Parama-Mahesvara' used for him in his successors records. The fact that not a single copper-plate or record of his own is obtained till now leads us to imagine that like Babar, the first impersor of the Mughal dynasty, he obtained the power, but could not consolidate and organise his principality. It was his successors Dronasimha, like Babar's grandson Akbar, who

Somadeva, the author of the <u>Kathasaritasagara</u>, wrote in the introduction to this work that he borrowed his material from the Brhatkatha of Gunadhya which was written in the Paisachi Ianguage. Somadeva further states that 'he did not add anything to the original material.' In the Kathasaritasagara we find the name Valabhi which might have occurred in Brhatkatha, a fact which would suggest that Valabhi existed even in early centuries of the Christian era. However, in the absence of the original work we cannot get the full idea of the state of affairs in Valabhi at the period.
 Cf. Buhler, "Alina Plates of Dharasena II," <u>I.A.</u>, VII, p. 71.

seems to have established a firm hold over the Empire.

Remarks on the variant forms of Bhatarka's name: The original form of the founder's name seems to be 'Bhatakka', as indicated_by the royal seals as well as by the early grants of Valabhi. Later on we also find the name spelt as 'Bhatarkka'. This is evidently the Sanskritised form of the original Prakrt name. It was customary to Sanskritise Prakrt names when the were to be in Sanskrit compositions; like the names of the Maitraka copper-plate grants. In some cases the consonant preceeding a conjunct 'r' was doubled. This was used frequently in ancient India, e.g. Med. (Bhatarka) was also written as (Bhatarkka). The doubling of 'Ka' in the name Bhatarkka is due to the practice of doubling of consonants following a conjuntt'r', which was optional orthographically. Thus the simple form of the name in Sanskrit is Bhatarka, which actually occurs in a few Valabhi grants. We also come across the forms Bhattarkka and Bhattarka in the case of some other grants. Comparatively, this latter name occurs far less frequently than the above forms, Bhatakka, Bhatarkka and Bhatark'. Even out of these Bhatarkka is the most frequent form used in the grants. Now 'Bhatarkka' and Bhattarkka'are altogether two different words lexicographically. In Sanskrta there are both words 'Bhata' and 'Bhatta', but they denote quite different senses. Philologically 'Bhata' is derived from 'bhrta and 'Bhatta' from 'bhartr'. The former means a mercenary soldier or servant, while the latter is an honorific term used for the royal or the learned class. According to used for the royal or the learned class. According to Sir Monier William 'Bhatta' sometimes occurs as a wrong variant for 'Bhata'. However, in either sense this may be used for the Maitraka Senapati. One of the terms means the Sun among the soldiers', while the other means the Sun among the learned.' Such a Maitraka hero was distinguished both for his learning and his valour. It is, however, certain that only one of these two terms could be taken as correct. The more usual and the earlier form, viz. Bhataraka or Bhatarkka is therefore to be preferred to the less frequent Bhattarakka.

DHARASENA I - 493 to 499 A.D.

The successor of Bhatarka was succeeded by his eldest son Dharasena I. His reign lasted approximately from 174 to 180 of the Valabhi Samvat i.e. A.D. 493 to 499.

As we have already seen, Bhatarka took advantage of weakness of the Gupta power to shake off their yoke. But complete independence could be achieved only in the next reign. Dharasena's succession to the office of Senapati held by his father, was quite in conformity with the prevailing custom, since the higher posts in the Gupta administration had by then become hereditary. Thus for example in the Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II his minister Virasena is described as one who had acquired the post of a minister by hereditary succession, (anvaya-prapta-sacivyah); and in the Karamadande Lingam inscription Prithivisena is said to have succeeded to the post of a Mantri of Kumaragupta I, an office which his father Sikhara had held under Chandragupta II. Again, we have it in the Junagadha rock inscription of Skandagupta that the provincial governors were themselves empowered to appoint their assistants. It was according to this practice that Parnadatta

^{1.} Fleet, 'Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II,' C.I.I., III, p. 21.

^{2.} Sten Konow, 'Karmadande Lingam Inscription of Kumaragupta I,'
E.I., X, pp. 71 ff. and Banerji, J.P.A.S.B., V, p. 458
(pl. XIX).

^{3.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

appointed his son Chakrapalita as a "Charge'd' affaires" of the city. Hence, there is reason to assume that Bhatrarka had already associated with himself his son Dharasena in the affairs of administration. After the death of his father Dharasena succeeded to the offices held by Bhatarka, viz. both as the head of the military and as of the civil administration at Valabhi.

Dharasena I saw in the condition of things around him a splendid opportunity to consolidate the power and position which his father had acquired. He made himself independent in his new kingdom during the dark days of the Gupta Empire. At that time most probably king Bhanugupta was on the throne of Magadha. His great problem was the increasing power of the Hunas. The battle of Eran in which Goparaja was killed, was fought by him manifestestly with the Hunas, and as Professor Banerji maintains, he was defeated in the same. 2 By defeating Bhanugupta the Huna king Tormana conquered Malava. The success of the Hunas in Central India, however, was short-lived, and according to the evidence of the Manjusri-Mula-Kalpa, Tormana died soon after defeating Bhanugupta and Goparaja. In these circumstances it is possible that the Vakataka king Harisena made an alliance with the Maitraka ruler Dharasena I for driving away the Hunas. it is known that during this period the Vakataka king Harisena

5. Buhler, 'Ajanta Inscription,' Are. Sur. of W. India, IV, pp.

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., pp. 91-93.

^{2.} Banerji, Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 60.

^{3.} Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, p. 54.

^{4.} Jayaswal, "History of India (Naga-Vakataka Imperial Period)", J.B.O.R.Soc., XIX, p. 103; Harisena ruled from about 490 to 520 A.D.

conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuta, Lata, kan Andhra etc. and acquired sovereign power. Only a few years before this event most of these countries were under the sway of the Hunas and the Guptas. The fact that a marriage has taken place between the Vakataka (ruling over Avanti) and the Maitraka (ruling over Valabhi) during the period shows that am all aur there was concluded an alliance for the specific purpose of ending the Huna menace. The princess chosen for/marriage seems to have been Chandralekha, who is described in the Diarasanasara of Devasena as the daughter of the king of Ujjaini and the queen of Dhruvasena I of Valabhipura.2 There should not be any doubt as to who this king of Ujjaini was. For Ujjain had by this time definitely come under the sway of the Vakatakas, a fact to which the Ajanta inscription of Harisena just referred to, bears undisputed testimony. But the marriage only meant that the Maitrakas had changed one hegemony for the other Hallow, to have been thus honoured with the hand of Chandralekha, the Maitrakas must have occupied a place higher than that of the mere feudatories in the political system of the Vakatakas. Their position may be described as that of the subordinate allies.

To follow up the history of the break-up of the Gupta power,

^{1.} Buhler, 'Ajanta Inscription,' Arc-Sur. of W.India, IV, pp.

^{2.} Cf. Shah, Jainism in North India, p. 68.

^{3.} Jayaswal, op.et loc.cit.

the Mankharies threw off their yoke in the eastern part of their empire and established their independence, just as the Vākātakas had done in the western parts. The epigraphical records in the caves at Bārābar¹ (Gaya, South Bihār) and Nāgārjuni² (Gaya Dist.) bring to light a new and independent line of Mankharies, inaugurated by one Harivarman who is styled 'mahārāja' in the Aśirgadh copper seal inscription³ of his successor. That a chief should have so dared as to set at naught the authority of the Guptas in their home province of Magadha - for it must be noted that Harivarman's territory lay in eastern Magadha - proves that the power of the Guptas must have indeed declined beyond recovery.

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., pp. 222 ff. Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, I.A., XIII, p. 428.

Ibid., p. 227; Cf. Prinsep, J.A.S.B., VI, pp. 672 ff.
 Ibid., p. 220; Wikson, J.R.A.S., (N.S.) III, pp. 377 ff.
 Cf. Hamid, Monuments in Bih. and Or., p. 88, No. 17.

DRONASIMHA - 499-519 A.D.

The successor of Dharasena I was his younger brother Dronasimha. He appears to have ascended the throne in about 180 xxx. Valabhi Samvat i.e. 499 A.D.

We have seen that Dharasena I virtually assumed the status of a king in the latter part of his reign. Dronasimha went a step further and called himself 'maharaja', as proved by his copper-plate grant issued in V.S. 183 i.e. 502 A.D., hardly a year or two after his accession. His coronation is also much spoken of in the records. In all the Maitraka plates, he is referred to as one whose coronation ceremony was performed in the presence of the paramount sovereign himself. This confirms our view that though the Maitrakas had thrown off the Gupta yoke, they had to acknowledge the paramountcy of some higher power. Though the name of this power is not stated in the inscriptions, it is evident from the facts mentioned in the last chapter, that it could not have been any other than the Vakatakas. In the North Indian history of this period, four rulers of note stand out above the rest and all the four have had their claims urged by different writers in this connection. We may examine here

^{1.} Jackson, 'Bhamodra Mohota Plates', <u>J.B.B.R.A.S.</u>, XX, pp. 1 ff; Barnett, 'A New Valabhi Grant', <u>I.E.</u>, XVI, pp. 17 ff; Acharya, <u>op.cit.</u>, I, No. 16.

i.e. whose coronation exert ceremony was performed in the presence of the master of the whole Universe.

the title of each of them. They are, besides the Vakataka king Herisena, the Gupta ruler Bhanugupta, the Huna ruler Tormana or Mihirakula and Yasodharman of Mandsor3. As regards the last ruler, he may at once be dismissed, for the simple reason that his imperial career started only a few years before the year 533-34 A.D. as the Mandsor Pillar inscription tells us. 4 for the suggestion that a Huna chief was the overlord - this too falls to the ground in view of the considerations we have offered in the last chapter. Further, we find that in the territories which passed into the hands of the Hunags the use of the Gupta era in dating the records was given up and the regnal year of the Huna kings was used instead, while the Maitrakas uniformly used the Gupta era. It may therefore be conceded that the Maitraka dominions never came under the suzerainty of the Hunas. As we have already seen, Bhanugupta also is out of the question. We know nothing of his achievements beyond the fact that in the

^{1.} Jagan Natha, 'Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhi,'
<u>Indian Culture</u>, V, pp. 497-414.

^{2.} Commissariat, History of Gujarat, p. XXXIX; cf. Smith, the Early History of India, p. 335.

^{5.} In the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 88, the date of Dronasimha's investiture is supposed to be about 520 A.D. and therefore Yasodharman is suggested the paramount ruler of his time. But the discovery of the Bhamodar Mohota plate of the year V.S. 183 i.e. 502 A.D. proves that Dronasimha's coronation has taken place in or before 502 A.D. and hence Yasodharman, whose imperial career started after 533 A.D. cannot be supposed the paramount sovereign present then.

^{4.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 142.

^{5.} Fleet, Eran Boar Stone Inscription, and 'the Gwalior Inscription,' Op.cit., pp. 158 and 161 respectively.

Eran pillar inscription, of Goparaja, - one of his dependents he is described as 'the Epic hero Arjuna'. But this is mere conventional praise; and as we have already had occasion to note, the Gupta power was well on the wane during this period. Hence, Bhanugupta hardly fits into the description of the paramount sovereign of Dronasimha as ruling over 'the whole circumference of the earth. Turning now to the emperor Harisena Vakataka we know from the Ajanta inscription that he conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuta, Lata, Andhra etc. and acquired the suzerain power during his glorious days i.e. 490-520 A.D. The Balaghat plates further make it clear that the Vakatakas had their own feudatories and that they made peace and war on their cwn account. These facts coupled with the Vakataka alliance, brought about by the marriage of the Vakataka princess Chandralekha with Dronasimha's brother Dhruvasena I, suggests that it was Harisena Vakataka who is referred to as the master of the whole universe, and his presence at the coronation ceremony was therefore in his dual capacity as overlord and father-in-law of the Valabhi king. The occasion was a landmark in the history of the Maitrakas and the event was carefully recorded in the dynastic accounts. This personal visit of the

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 91.

Jayaswal, op.et loc.cit.
 Jayaswal, 'History of India - Naga-Vakataka Imperial Period,'
 J.B.O.R.S., XIX, pp. 79-103.

^{4.} Kielhorn, 'Balaghat plate of the Vakataka Maharaja Prithiishena II', E.I., IX, pp. 270 ff.

suzerain must have gone a long way in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two dynasties, and we may even say that the Maitrakas were thus set on the course of complete independence, which they actually asserted in the reign of Dharasena IV, a century later.

In his own as well as his successors' copper-plates

Dronasimha is described as an ambitious man and a good general.

Like most of the Valabhi kings he was a great devotee of Siva.

This is seen from the epithet Parama-Mahesvara used of him in all the Valabhi records. He made a grant of the village

Trisangamaka in Hastavapra ahara (modern Hathab) to one Panduraja of the Devipantha, an act of munificence by which he set an example to be followed by his successors.

We kn ow from the inscriptions, that Bhatarka and his eldest son Dharasena were military leaders whose reigns were mainly occupied with fighting and carving out a principality and thus making their power recognised by all and sundry. It was only in the reign of Dronasimha that measures could be taken to ensure the social and economic welfare of their subjects.

Accordingly, Dronasimha is described as having set up before him the ideal of a Dharmaraja. In the inscriptions he is described as 'one whose nature (manifested itself in) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmaraja (i.e. Yudhisthira) fixed the path of the laws of good

^{1.} Jackson, Barnett, and Acharya, op.et loc.cit.

conduct, '1 ('prasa-(sa) vimala - mauli (li) manir - Mmanv-adipranita-vidhi-vidhana-dharmma Dharmmarajaiva vihita-vinayanya (vya) vastha-paddhatir'). This description in the Valabhi
plates reminds us of the description of Dilipa by the poet
Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa, as the real father of his subjects
because he educated, protected and supported his people who were
said to have swerved not an inch from the path laid down by
Manu.

^{1.} Sten Konow, 'Five Valabhi Plates', E.I., XI, p. 107. line 7.

DHRUVASENA I - 519-549 A.D.

Dhruvasena I was the third son of Senapati Bhataraka and the first of the several Maitraka sovereigns of that name. He succeeded his brother Dronasimha and ruled for about thirty years from 519 A.D. to 549 A.D.

In the Valabhi copper-plate grants we usually find an expression, which reigning king used by way of paying respect to his predecessor, viz. "whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his (predecessor's) feet" etc., (tat-pada-rajo-run-avanata-pavitri-krita) . The sudden break in this usual formula makes us suspect that the succession of Dhruvasena I was perhaps not peacefully effected. This seems to be confirmed by the next epithet 'that he acquired the throne by the strength of his own arms, (Sva-bhuja-parakramena) used in connection with this ruler. One may be tempted to infer from this that it was a successful rebellion against his brother that brought Dhruvasena' I to the throne. But this hypothesis is unwarranted. For the circumstance mentioned in the records, viz. that he was himself responsible for his rise, shows that either during the last days of this predecessor Dronasimha or immediately on his accession to the throne the Maitrakas were assailed by a superior power, which drove Dhruvasena from his inheritance and that it was only by the strength of his own efforts that he succeeded in regaining his kingdom. Now, the

Sten Konow, op.cit., p. 107.
 Buhler, "A grant of Dhruvasena I, dated 216', E.I., IV, pp. 104-107, (lines 10-11).

external power responsible for the troubles of the Valabhi kingdom at this time was probably Yasodharman of Malawa. However, though Dhruvasena boasts that it was by his own efforts that he regained his kingdom, the epithet he bore viz. "(He) who meditates on the feet of paramount lord" (parama-bhattaraka-padanudhyata), whould show that he received valuable help from his overlord. The latter could have been none other than the Vakataka king Harisena. After this success, Dhruvasena I would appear to have ruled undisturbed for about a decade, as seen from his inscriptions issued from the beginning of his reign down to Was. V.S. 210² i.e. 529 A.D. In these inscriptions he is styled 'Mahasamañta' and 'Maharaja'.

But it was not long before Dhruvasena came into conflict with his erstwhile enemy. His grants dated V.S. 216³ and V.S. 217⁴ (i.e. 535 and 536 A.D.) were issued actually from the battle-field (vijaya-skandha-varat). The war that followed however, was not as successful to the Maitrakas as the previous one, and it would appear that it was only on his acceptance of humiliating terms that peace was made. This is also evident from the titles which he assumed from now omwards, viz.

Buhler, loc.cit.
 Bloch, 'British Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I,' J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 382 ff.



^{1.} Bhandarkar's List, Nos., 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1299,

^{1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1591, 1592,} etc.

2. Jackson, 'A Valabhi Copper-plate grant of Sam. 210,' I.A., XXXIX, p. 130; and Sten Konow, 'A Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I', E.I., XI, pp. 113 ff.

'Mahapratihara', the great door keeper, 'Mahadandanayaka' the great general or governor, 'Mahakartika' which may be literally translated as the great follower of Kartika - the general of the gods, all of which are indications of a distinctly lower status. It is possible that Yasodharma availed himself of the death of the great Vakataka emperor Harisena, which seems to have taken place at about this time,, to measure his strength once more, with the Vakatakas. The defeat which he inflicted on the latter was so over-whelming that they could not survive as a power. They disappeared from history, since no record of any successor of Harisena is known to exist. The battle must have taken place some time before 533 A.D. in which year the Mandsor Pillar inscription of Yasodharman, is dated. In this prasasti his prowess and conquests are thus described as "He, who spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys, those countries, - thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess, - which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth, (and)

The period of rule assigned to Harisena is from 490 to 520 A.D. of.Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 79. But since this is purely conjectural, we may extent it by a few years. The war between Yasodharman and the Vakatakas would then be taken as being fought early in the next Vakataka reign. According to Jouveau-Dubreuil Harisena ruled from 500 A.D. to 530 A.D., cf. Ancient Hist. of the Deccan, p. 76.
 Fleet, op.cit., p. 146-7; cf. Fleet, I.A., XV, p. 257.

which the command of the chiefs of the Hunas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate:— He, before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya up to (the mountain) Mahendra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himalaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Ganga, up to the Western Ocean, — by which (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads"—Dhruvasena, it would seem, had to pay the penalty for his loyalty to his overlords — the Vakatakas. He was degraded from the exalted position of 'Mahasamanta' or chief feudatory, to the mere dandanayaka or captain.

But the rise of Yasodharman was like that of a meteor. His power was as short lived. Ten years after the Mandsor inscription (c. 543-44 A.D.) we find a portion of his dominions being ruled by a viceroy or son (?) of a Gupta emperor, who is styled "parama-bhattaraka maharajadhiraja prithivipati" "Supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth." At about the same time we find that the Maitrakas also were regaining their

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., lines (4-5).
2. Bask, <u>History of North-Eastern India</u>, p. 160 and Smith, op.cit.

p. 339. 3. cf. Raychaudhuri, op.cit., p. 505.

former status. In his inscriptions dated V.S. 221 to V.S. 226² (i.e. 540 to 545 A.D.) it is seen that the old titles of Maharaja and Mahasamanta were restored to Dhruvasena I.

During these turbulent days Dhruvasena I seems to have lost his son.³ For the famous Jaina-council held at Valabhi condoled with him on his great loss.

Dhruvasena was a worthy successor to the warlike kings that had preceded him on the throne of Valabhi. He is described in the records to have, "like a lion, defeated single-handed by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; and to have been the refuge of those who sought protection."

The records also speak of his scholarly attainments and his patronage of the learned referring to him as "Avaboddha-sastrartha-tattavanam", "he who knows the essence of the Sastras, the authoritative works on the different branches of learning," and as Kalpatarur-iva suhrit-pranayinam yathabhilashita-kama-phal-opathoga-dah, "one who showed great liberality to friends and the learned and the existing religions institutions of his time."

^{1.} Vallabhji Haridatta, 'Vavadiga-Jogia-plates of Dhruvasena I', Vienna Ori. Jour., Vol. VII, p. 297.

Diskalkar, 'Wala Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I, An.Rept.Wat. Mus., 1922-23, p. 9; and Diskalkar, J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.), I,p. 13.
 Jacobi, Sacred Book of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 270.

^{4.} Hultzsch, 'The Ganesgad Inscription of Dhruvasena I,' E.I., III p. 318 (lines 8-10); and Fleet, op.cit., p. 165 (lines 6-8).

 ^{5. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.
 6. Ibid.

We find from Dhruvasena I's plates that his father Bhattaraka and his elder brothers king Dharasena I and Dronasimha were Parama-Maheswaras i.e. great devotees of Siva; and that he himself was Parama-Bhagavata i.e. a great devotee of Visnu. This was perhaps due to the influence of some Vaisnavite preceptor of the time who had also influenced the Vakataka and the Garulaka kings in favour of Vaisnavism. But he was, with all, a man of liberal religious outllook. This is confirmed from the following facts. His grant dated V.S. 216 (535 A.D.) is made for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihara built by his niece (sister's daughter) Dudda, who is called Paramopasika, and that of V.S. 2172 for the benefit of another built by one Buddhadasa. The expenses of providing the Buddhist monks with the necessaries of life, of feeding Buddhist pilgrims who flocked from all parts for worshipping the Buddhist idols, and of repairing the Viharas, were to be met from the income accruing from these grants. The other grants were made to Brahmanas learned in different vedas. It may be noted that three grants - one of V.S. 2075, V.S. 2104 (529 A.D.), another of V.S. 2215 (540 A.D.) and a third of

Buhler, 'A Valabhi Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I,'
 I.A., IV, pp. 104-107.

 Bloch, 'Dhruvasena I's Copper-plate grant,' J.R.A.S., 1895,

p. 379; cf. Acharya, Historical Inscription of Gujarat,
Vol. I, p. 40.

3. Cf. an unpublished grant of this year was made on Kartika Sukla
3. It is in the collection of Mr.Sarabhai Nawab of Ahmedabaa

4. Sukthankar, 'Dhruvasena I's Copper-plate grant,' E.I. XVII,
p. 108; Diskalkar, "The Second half of a Valabhi Grant of
Samuat 210." E.I., XIX, pp. 125 ff

Samvat 210," E.I., XIX, pp. 125 ff.
5. Valabhaji Haridatta, 'Vavadia Jogia Plates,' V.C.J., VII, p. 297.

V.S. 226¹ (545 A.D.), - are made to the Brahmanas of Anandapura, the present Vadanagar, the famous seat of Brahmanical learning. In the first it is simply called Nagara, in the second Anandapura, and in the third Anarttapura. In the first the donees are two brothers, Santisarma and Devasarma of Atreyagotra, who were the students of the Vajasaneyi Sakha of the Yajūrveda. In the second the names of the donees are Skandatrāta and Guhatrāta of Bhāradvaja gotra, who were the students of Sāmavdda (Chhandogasabrahmachāri); the name of the donee in the third grant is lost.

The famous Jaina council², which was held at Valabhi in the early part of his reign (526 A.D.³) is another proof of his broad religious views and interest in the different religious philosophies. Although we know that the two distinct divisions in the Jaina community baid not yet come into existence till the beginning of the Christian erg, it must be admitted that the tradition of Bhadrabāhu of the days of the great famine⁴ and the Jaincandra and Sivabhuti of c. 80 A.D. are some of the stages in the history of the great schism. But in the opinion of several scholars the great council at Valabhi led to the final separation of the two sects under Devarddhigani, and It was here that the

4. Nathuram Premi, Darasanasara of Devasena, p. 31.

^{1.} Diskalkar. 'New Valabhi Copper-plate grants', J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.) I, p. 16.

^{2.} Jarl Charpentier, 'The Date of Mahavira,' I.A., XLIII, pp. 176-177; Jacobi, Kalpa Sutra, p. 270.

^{3.} Charpentier, <u>Uttaradhyayana Sutra</u>, p. 16. This date of the learned scholar is based on the date of Mahavira's Nirvana in 467 B.C., and 993 A.V. as the date of the redaction of the Jaina Canon.

final reduction into writing, of the whole canonical literature of the Jainas, resulted into a split in the Jaina community, with differences in matters of certain dogmas and beliefs. The whole thing was arranged at Valabhi because of the efforts of queen Chandralekha, and thus Valabhi became an important city in the history of the Jaina literature.

The increase in the Maitraka power under Dhruvasena I is also attested by the fact that a ruling family called the Garulakas acknowledged his supremacy. Two copper-plates grants of this family are found along with the Valabhi inscriptions, and what is remarkable, is that the former resemble very much the Maitraka grants. In one of these copper-plates, Dhruvasena's name is actually mentioned as an overlord by the Garulaka king Varahadasa (in G.E. 230 i.e. 549 A.D.). This king is said to have obtained a wictory over Dwarka, and presumably it was

Senapati Varahadasa I

Samanta - Maharaja Sura II Sri Mahasamanta Varahadasa II ! (574 A.D.) (Bhattisura)

^{1.} Cf. Shaha, op.cit., p. 68.
2. The geneology of the Garulakas according to their inscription is as follows:-Maharaja Sura

Samanta Maharaja Simhaditya.

3. Gadre, 'The Five Vala Copper-plate grants,' J.U.B., III,
pp. 79 ff, (line 15).

4. Ibid; cf. Huttzsch, 'Palitana Plates of Simhaditya,' E.I., XI,
p.17. The king of Dwaraka who was defeated by the Garulaka
king was probably one of the Heroles chiefs who ruled over
this country in the sixth century A.D. as mentioned by
(Kathiawad) Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, p. 590.

done with the help of his Maitraka overlord. The capital of these Garulakas was Phankaprasravana, close to Girinagar in the heart of the Maitraka kingdom. The name Garulaka or Garudaka suggests that the family probably had the Garuda, the vahana of Visnu, as its emblem, and the description in the plates further makes it clear that the rulers of this dynasty were Vaisnavites. The fact that they were brave and ambitious rulers, is clearly seen from their records. It is said that 'the Garulakas subdued all enemies by their prosperity due to performance of eminent deeds; and who gained decisive victories in encounters (with their enemies) in many of the battles. 12 This would imply that they distinguished themselves in wars under their suzerains. Like the Maitrakas they too were broad-minded in religion. They made grants indiscriminately to the Brahman and to the Buddhists. The gratitude of their subjects on this score is revealed from the comparison of their rule to that of Yadhisthira and of Dasaratha of the heroic age. The details in the records of their administrative officers suggest that they had an excellent system of administration, for various officers both civil and military, from princes (rajaputra), palace-officers (rajasthaniya), and ministers, to city officers (drangika), headmen (mahattara), regular and irregular soldiers, spies and

^{1.} Gadre, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Hultzsch, op.et loc.cit.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Gadre, op.et loccit.

riders on elephants and horses.

Dhruvasena I's grants were made from various places like Valabhi, Hathab and the camp at Khuddavediya¹, and the donees came from far off places to receive their grants, one of such examples is Simhapura which is identified with Sihore situated at the Bhavanagar - Vadhavana junction. Three of his grants dated V.S. 210, V.S. 221 and V.S. 226, as we have seen above, are made to Brahmanas of Vadanagar. This shows that the limits of his kingdom in the north must have included Vadanagar also. To the west the kingdom seems to have spread as far as Dwarka, the extreme end of Saurstra, in this direction. As for the expansion of the Maitraka kingdom towards the east and the south, beyond Valabhi, we know that this development took place in later days, under Dhruvasena's successors.

<u>DHARAPATTA</u> - 549-553 A.D.

King Dhruvasena I was succeeded by his younger brother
Dharapatta who seems to have ruled for a very short period. For
the earliest known grant of his son and successor Guhasena is
dated V.S. 240¹ (i.e. 559 A.D.), while the last known date of
his predecessor, as we have already seen, is V.S. 230 (i.e. 549
A.D.)². Indeed, having succeeded to the throne after his three
elder brothers, whose reigns covered a period of five decades,
he must have been an old man, when he was anointed king. In
these circumstances the short duration of his reign is nothing
enceptional. Nor records of his are discovered as yet. It is
said that Dharapatta is not mentioned in the grants of his son,
though he is styled in the records of his grandson Dharasena II
as a 'maharaja', which proves that he did succeed to the throne
of Valabhi.

Now the question arises as to why the passage describing this ruler did not occur in the grants of Guhasena and was subsequently inserted by his successors? By examining the three of the copper-plate grants of Guhasena we came to know that one of them has its first plate missing, while the second plate begins

^{1.} Buhler, "A Valabhi Grant of Guhasena dated 240", I.A., VII, p.66.

^{2.} This date is known from Dhruvasena I's contemporary feudatory king Varahadasa of the Garulaka dynasty. Cf. Gadre, "The five Vala Copper-plate grants," J.U.B., III, p. 79, while the last known grant of Dhruvasena I is dated V.S.226.

^{3.} Buhler, opeet loc.cit.

with the passage on Guhasena himself, as continued from the end of the first plate. Thus the missing of the first place leaves the case undecided as far as this record is concerned. In the case of the third i.e. of the year V.S. 248 both the plates are well preserved but while editing these plates the author has given neither the transcript nor the fassimile of the first plate. He has only given the summary of the first plate which again leaves us in doubt. 2 The editor simply says that the first plate gave nothing but the genealogy from Bhatarka to Dharapatta, such as is known to us from the grants of Dhruvasena I and Dharasena II". On turning to the early grant of V.S. 240, we find this vital difference, viz. the omission of Dharapatta's name. However the beginning of Guhasena's description after that of Dhruvasena I is very abrupt in as much as no relationship with the former is specified. This creates suspicion about some mistake of the (lekhaka) writer who might have omitted some words in the grant and this suspicion required to be solved by the help of some other grant of Guhasena.

In describing him as 'Paramaditya -Bhakta', the records suggest that he was a devotee of the Sun God. It is curious that Dharapatta alone, among the Valabhi rulers, should profess the

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., V, p. 206.

^{2.} The original plates of this record are under the possession of the Prince of Walse Museum but on account of the present war they are not accessible.

sun-faith. But what is more significant is that his other contemporaries also seem to have had a partiality for this cult. We know from the history of the Gurjaras that kings Dadda I and II and Ranagraha were demotees of the Sun, a fact which shows the prevalence of the Sun-worship in Northern India in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. However, since the kings were telerant in matters of religion, the faith, confined as it was to the rayalty and only a small section of the people, could not make progress and was short-lived. It seems to have lingered on for some time, for we know of a temple of the Sun god, stood at Kavi to which the Gujara Rastrakuta king Govindraja made a grant.²

It is said in the inscriptions that Dharapatta "forcibly conquered the renewned greatness of the ranks of (his) enemies."

In the absence of reliable data these military exploits of Dharapatta may be said to refer to one of his campaigns in his younger days, against the enemies during the reign of his brothers.

Before we pass from Dharapatta to his son Guhasena it will be interesting to note that all the elder sons of Bhatarka are in turn succeeded by their respective anujas i.e. younger brothers. Dharasena I, the eldest was succeeded by his younger brother

^{1.} The fact that king Siladitya I made a grant to a Sun-temple, proves the existence of the faith in his time, cf. <u>I.A.</u>, IX, p. 237.

Kielhorn, 'Kavi, Grant of Govindaraja', I.A., V, p. 144.
 Fleet, 'Maliya Copper-plate inscription,', op.cit., p. 165, lines 8-9.

Dronasimha, the latter was then succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena I, who in turn was succeeded by his youngest of the brothers, Dharapatta. Did all these three elder brothers of Dharapatta have no male issue to succeed them? Or was there such a tradition among the Maitrakas that the Anuja i.e. younger brother should have 'a priori' right over the son, so that all the sons of a king could exercise their claims to the throne successively? Later on king Siladitya I also is succeeded by his Anuja, Kharagraha I though he himself had a son named Derabhata. Kharagraha explains his direct succession to his elder brother simply as an act of obedience to the will of his elder brother (guru). This possibly suggests that Siladitya himself had appointed his Anuja to be his successor. Accordingly it may be also said that each son of Bhataraka would have himself selected his anuja to succeed him. The phrase 'tat padaanudyatah' used by every succeeding king for his immediate predecessor bears such a significance that each king may naturally show reverence to his predecessor who selected him to be his xxxx successor. The assumption that each king selected his successor according to his own choice will also help us in explaining the cases of 'Agraja' successers among the latter Maitrakas.

GUHASENA - 553-569 A.D.

Guhasena was the son and successor of Dharapatta. He was perhaps the first great king of the Maitraka dynasty. This can be seen from the fact that all the Valabhi rulers from Siladitya I down to the last ruler of the line, drop the names of his four predecessors in their dynastic records, while his name is recorded with due respect in all the grants. Thus after naming the founder Bhatkaraka, the geneology commences with him.

Guhasena appears to have ruled for about sixteen years from V.S. 234 to V.S. 250 (i.e. 553 to 569 A.D.). The last known date of Dhruvasena I is V.S. 230¹ (i.e. 549 A.D.) and as has already been shown in the last chapter, Dharapatta's reign was of short duration. Since the first known date of Guhasena is V.S. 240² (i.e. 559 A.D.) we may rest content that he came to the throne in about V.S. 234 (i.e. 553 A.D.). As the earliest known grant of his successor Dharasena II is dated in V.S. 252³ (i.e. 571 A.D.) we may conclude that Guhasena's reign extended down to V.S. 250 (i.e. 569 A.D.).

From the Jaunpur stone inscription of the Mankhari ruler

^{1.} Gadre, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Buhler, 'Copper-plate grants of Guhasena', I.A., VII, pp.

^{3.} Bhavnagar Inscriptions, p. 31; cf. Fleet, 'The Jhar Plates! 1, I.A., Vol., XV, p. 187.

^{4.} Fleet, 'The Jaunpur Stone Inscription,' C.I.I., III, pp. 229 ff

^{5.} In the Jaunpur stone inscription the Mankharis are called Mukharas.

Isvaravarman, it is known that he had reached the Raivataka mountain, a region which was included in Guhasena's territories. The upshot of this invasion, however, is not specified in the inscription. Nevertheless, judging from the epithet borne by Guhasena, it may be said that the latter successfully rupulsed his enemy. We are told in his own records that his "strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes," and further that, "the heads of (his) enemies were made to bow down by his prowess."2 That this was not an empty boast is also manifest from the fact that in contrast to his predecessors, who called themselves Mahasamantas, while he assumed the higher title of maharaja. the other hand, unlike his successors who bore imperial titles such as Maharajadhiraja, Isvaravarman is given the simple title of Kshitipati and Maharaja in the later inscriptions of his dynasty; while in his own inscription the style adopted by him is merely that of nrpati (a king). But the Haraha inscription declares that "for the obtainment of martial glory" Adityavarman

^{1.} On this point there is a divergence of opinion among scholars, for which the fragmentary nature of the inscription is responsible. According to some scholars, Isvaravarman defeat ed a king who took shelter in the Raivataka mountain, while others opine that his expedition into Saurastra took Isvaravarman as far as Raivataka. But none of these authorities have tried to identify the ruler of this territory.

However, he could be none other than our Guhasena because the country invaded was the Maitraka kingdom. 2. Buhler, op.et loc.cit.

^{3.} Fleet, 'Asirgade Copper-Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman, op.cit., pp. 220 ff; cf. Sastri, 'The Haraha Inscription,' E.I., XIV, p. 119.

"caused the birth of Isvaravarman". By this it is revealed that Isvaravarman was destined to exalt and celebrate the name of the Mankhari kula. A probable inference that may be drawn from this is that the imperial ambition of the Mankharis originate ated from his time, though he himself did not succeed in achieveing it. He was driven back from Saurastra by the Great Maitraka ruler Guhasena, who compelled him for ever more to respect the integrity of his territory.

This attempted annexation of the Maitraka kingdom may have taken place somewhere in the beginning of Guhasena's rule, and the concluding years of the reign of Isvaravarman, for we know, from the Haraha inscription, that in the Vikrama Sam. 611 i.e. 544 A.D.², Isvaravarman's son Isanavarman succeeded to the Mankhari throne. This victory over the Mankharis went a long way in strengthening Guhasena's position as an independent king. And it was, no doubt, because of this xxx victory which he won siggle-handed over a powerful adversary, that he boldly gave up the feudatory title of Samanta, hitherto borne by his predecessors and made himself feared and respected in the neighbouring countries.

^{1.} Sastri, op.cit., p. 119, line 8; Cf. Pires, The Markharis, p. 69.

^{2.} Majumdar, "A Haraha Stone Inscription," I.A., XLVI, pp. 125 ff; Hiranand Sastri, E.I., XIV, pp. 110 ff.

In all we have five records of this ruler. One copperplate grant is dated in V.S. 240 (i.e. 559 A.D.), another in V.S. 2462 (i.e. 565 A.D.) and the last one bears the year 2482 (i.e. c.567 A.D.) of the same Samvat. An inscription recording the name of Guhasena and dated in V.S. 247 (i.e. 566 A.D.)4 was found inscribed on a small clay-pot discovered at Vala. The word 'Ghata' of the record obviously refers to the vessel on which it was inscribed. One more fragmentary stone inscription5 discovered at the village Bankodi in the Raval district of the Navanagar state, records the name of Guhasena. On paloeographical grounds it has been assigned to this Maitraka king. It These are the only two inscriptions of this type, bearing the name of a Maitraka king, who happened to be Guhasena in both these cases; one of this is about 18" x 7" and consists of three lines, though all its sides and corners are chopped off. Unfortunately, the date and the purpose of the inscription are missing. It is, therefore, difficulty to say anything about its object.

^{1.} Buhler, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Buhler, 'The Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi,' I.A., Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff; Barnett, 'Wala Plate of Guhasena of the year 246,' E.I., XIII, p. 338. (Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1312 and 1313 and Sankalia's list nos. 79 and 80 are for one and the same grant.)

^{3.} Buhler, 'The Bhavanagar Plate of Guhasena of Valabhi, 'I.A., V, p. 207.

^{4.} Buhler, "Wala fragmentary Inscription", I.A., XIV, p. 75. Dr. Salatore in his Life in the Gupta Age (p. 105), has suggested that this 'ghata' may have been a pot for waterclock.

^{5.} Bhavanagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscription, p. 30.

It may be gathered from his records that Guhasena combined in himself the qualities of a warrior as well as of a statesman. It seems that the royal treasury was replenished in his time for he is compared to an ocean for passessing wealth. He was a skilled and formidable warrior almost cradled in the art of warfare. "His sword", we are told, "was verily a second arm to him from his childhood,"2 (Saisavat-pra bhitti- Khadga-dritiyabahur-eva). His statesmanlike qualities are obvious from the fact that he is reported to have governed his subjects according to the Smrtis and other traditionary laws. His "title of 'king' was obvious and suitable", we are told in his copper-plates, "because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditional laws," (Sakala-smriti-pranita-margaa-samyak-paripalana-praja-hmidayaranjanad-anvartha-raja-sabdo). We may therefore rightly maintain that it was his keen political insight coupled with his consumate generalship that gained for him a great influence in his kingdom. The Maitraka records are unanimous in representing him as a handsome man possessed of elegant bearing and refined and courteous manners who resembled (the god) Smara. He is invariably described as 'Dhanesa' and 'Brhaspati'4, a fact which testifies to the prosperity - both material and moral, of the country

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 165 - lines 19-15.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid.

under him, and a full exchequer. Though all these attributes are stereotyped and modelled on the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa, they nevertheless show that their Maitraka recipient was an important personality.

All the plates of Guhasena are records of donations made to Buddhist monasteries. The very first known grant is made to the Vihara, in the city of Valabhi, built by Dudda. She is referred to as 'Pujya' "respected". This is natural, for the was an aged cousin (father's sister's daughter) of Guhasena. In addition to the usual purposes of providing for the monks and pilgrims, repairing the monasteries etc. one more purpose is mentioned - viz. the purchase of books of 'good religion' i.e. Buddhism for the Viharas. This proves the existence of a library, at least of Buddhist books. The eighteen Nikayas or schools of Buddhism, are also mentioned in this plate. His second record describes the grant made for the same purpose. Dudda is referred to more respectively as Duddapada; and the Vihara is named after her as Dudda Vihara. At the end of this record we find the word 'Svamukhajna' 'oral order'. This probably implies that no dutaka was necessary as the grant was made directly without the usual intermediaries being present. It was written by Skandabhatta, who was appointed to the post of the minister of war and peace. The third grant was made to Abhyantarika-Vihara, built by Mimma who is referred to as

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 66

Mimmapada. From the terms of respect accorded to her, it seems to that she was also related to the royal family like Dudda. However in the absence of evidence, it is not possible to be definite on this point. This Vihara was situatednear the Bhattaraka-Vihara which was given to the Rajasthaniya (i.e. the official guardian) Sura. The 'oral order' is mentioned in this grant also. This explains the absence of the dutaka's name as in the previous case. The grant was written by the same Skandabhatta.

In the first two grants Guhasena is styled a Parama-Maheswara "a great devotee of Siva". While in the later one, which was issued in V.S. 248 (i.e. 567 A.D.), he is was said to be a Paramopasaka "a great devotee of the Buddha". This shows that he was greatly influenced by Buddhism between the year 565 and 567 A.D. It was perhaps due to the influence of the nun Dudda and other pious and learned monks of the time. the emblem of all his plates continued to be that of a Nandi ((vrisabha), the vahana of Siva. Even in the inscriptions of his successors Guhasena is invariably styled 'Parama-Maheswara'. This is a clear proof that he was not converted to Buddhism, as Buhler would have us believe and the change from 'Parama Maheswara' to'Paramopasaka' in the grants would, in that case, only signify that he was greatly interested in Buddhism and may even have had a decided leaning towards it, but did not adopt But conviction as is repeatedly shown in the histories of it.

^{1.} Buhler, Arch.Sur. of West India, Vol. III, p. 84.

religion is one thing, and conversion is quite another.

The mention of Dùdda's and Mimma's name in the copper-plate grants, is significant from another point of view also. It shows the importance given to ladies in those days. That they were highly cultured and educated is clearly seen from the fact that they could construct and organise institutions like the Viharas.

At about this time, the Saurseni Apabhramsa, the spoken language of the people, was growing into a literary language. And we are told that king Guhasena wrote poems in Sanskrit, Prakrit and even Apabhramsa, a fact which gives a glimpse of the literary activities of the time.

In his classic on Rajasthan Tod has observed that the Juhilots of Mewar were the descendents of the Maitrakas. Tod based his accounts on local chronicles and traditions, according to which king Siladitya, the last king of the Maitraka line, died and lost his kingdom while resisting an attack of the barbarians. A posthumous son was born to him and was named Guhaditya. The latter was brought up in a family of the Nagar Brahmanas of Vadnagar in Gujarat. When the child grew up, he conquered the aboriginal Bhil chieftain of Idar, and became the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewar. But the account can hardly be reconciled with the evidence oc contemporary epigraphs.

^{1.} Munshi, 'Gujarat and its Literature, p. 20.
2. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I,pp. 176-181.

The Samoli inscription of the Guhila Siladitya dated A.D. 646¹ and the Nagada inscription of the Guhila Aparajita dated 661 A.D.² suggest that the Guhila family was already established in Mewar during the time of the earliest Siladitya of the Maitraka line, and flourished along with the Maitrakas, when the latter became extinct—about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.³ On the other hand, there is an inscription to show that Sila, a king of the Guhilot dynasty lived in Vik. Sam. 703 i.e. 646 A.D. The Ranpur, Achalgadh, Chitorgadh and Atapura inscriptions distinctly show that Sila was five generations apart from Guhadatta or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty. Guhadatta, therefore, must be carried to the middle of the sixth century, allowing roughly twenty years for each generation. Thus it was quite impossible for him to be a descendant of the last Maitraka king Siladitya VII.

The Bombay Gazetteer states that the Guhilots of Mewar were a branch descending from the Maitraka king Guhasena: a branch of the family springing from Guhasena took their dynastic name from the name of their progenitor as Gohilot or Gehlots. But great doubts at once arise in regard to this suggestion also.

^{1.} Halder, 'Samoli Inscription of Siladitya', E.I., Vol. XX,

^{2.} Kielhorn, 'Udayapur Inscription of A parajita', E.I., Vol. IV, p. 31.

^{3.} The last known date of the Maitraka records is V.S.447 (i.e. 766-67 A.D.). Cf. Fleet, "The Alina Plates of Siladitya VII", C.I.I., III, pp. 171 ff.

^{4.} Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 90.

The Gohila were Nagar Brahmanas, a fact which is supported by a well-known verse occuring in the Achalesara stone inscription (Vik. Sam. 1342), the Chitorgadh stone inscription (Vik. Sam. 1331) and the Mamadeva prasasti. The Chitorgadh inscription also styles Bappa (the founder of the family) a Brahmana.

Again, the Ekalinga-Mahatmya, composed during the reign of Rana Kumba, declares that Guhadatta, the founder of the race, belonged to a Brahmana family which had migrated from Anandapura. The same work further on states that Vijayaditya, the ancestor of Guhadatta, was the ornament of the Nagar race. If, then, it is undcubted that the Gohilots were Brahmanas, how could they have decended from the Maitrakas, whom we defintely know to be Ksatriyas! 5.

^{1.} Banerjee, 'Early History of the Guhilots,' <u>Ind.Culture</u>, Vol. III, pp. 585 ff; Bhandarkar, 'The Guhilots', <u>J.A.S.B.</u>, V, 1909, pp. 167 ff.

^{2.} Bhavanagar Inscriptions, pp. 84 ff. verse. 11.

^{3.} Ibid., pp. 74 ff. v. 8.

^{4.} The following lines from Ekalingaji Mahatmya of Maha Rana
Kumbha Karna are quoted here:

i.e. Victorious is Sri Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila
Race, the delight of the families of Brahmanas and come from
Anandapura (Wadhwan = Vardhamana.) cf. Ibid., p. 89.

^{5.} Beal, op.et loc.cit; Watters, op.et loc.cit.

DHARASENA II - 569-589-90 A.D.

After the death of Guhasena the Maitraka sceptre passed into the hands of his son Dharasena II. In all about sixteen copper-plate grants of this ruler have been found with dates ranging from V.S. 252 (i.e. 571 A.D.) to V.S. 270 (i.e. 589 A.D.). The earliest known date of his successor Siladitya I is V.S. 286¹ (i.e. 605 A.D.) and the last known date of his father, who preceded him, is V.S. 248 (i.e. 567 A.D.)² This would show that he ruled for about twenty years, from V.S. 250 to V.S. 271 (i.e. 569 to 589-90 A.D.)

In his first two grants dated V.S. 252 (i.e. 571 A.D.)

Dharasena II styles himself 'samanta', unlike his father Guhasena. This would show that the power of the Maitrakas was on the decline during the early years of Dharasena II. Did the Mankharis seize the opportunity offered by the change of rulers, to arra aggrandize themselves at the expense of the Maitrakas?

Whatever it may be, a few months later in the month of Vaisakha of the same year, Dharasena is found dropping the subordinate title of Samanta. This was tantamount to defiance of the Mankhari suzerainty and Isanavarman seems to have at once taken

^{1.} Stekn Konow, "The Palitana Plates of Siladitya I, Dharmaditya, E.I., XI, p. 115; Bhandarkar, 'Two Copper-plates from Valabhi,' I.A., Vol. I, p. 45.

^{2.} Buhler, op.cit., V, p. 206.

^{3.} Buhler, 'A Copper-plate grant of Dharasena I, ' I.A., VII, p.68.

the field against the Maitraka kings. That Dharasena II was at war with him can be also seen from his next record which mentions his camp at Bhadrapattanaka. But the Mankhari king could not succeed in imposing his hegemony over the Maitraka ruler, and in his next record dated V.S. 254 (i.e. A.D. 573), Dharasena II appears with his former title of maharaja, indicative of the higher rank. But Isanavarman was determined to impost his yoke on him and continued the war against him. The former soon found himself unable to continue this unequal struggle. And hounded into flagellation by a powerful external enemy, he saved himself by offering his submission to him. In consequence, in his grants dated V.S. 269 and V.S. 2703 (i.e. 588 and 589 A.D.) he contents himself with the mere title of 'Mahasamanta'. Significantly enough among his attributes Dharasena bears the following one: "who averts calamities that would aflict (his) subjects."4 It is possible to infer from this that he came to terms with his enemy in order to avert the destruction and havoc caused to his subjects by these imperialist wars.5

This conquest doubtless raised Isanavarman's status, and he was all but universally acknowledged as the emperor of Norther India and proudly designated himself as Maharajadhiraja, a

^{1.} The Bhavanagar Inscriptions, pp. 35-39.

^{2.} Diskalkar, 'Bantia Plates of Dharasena II, Sam. 254 (257?)' E.I., XXI, p. 179; cf. Watson Mus. Rept., 1925-26, p. 13.

^{3.} Op.cit.

^{4.} Buhler, op.cit., (lines 9-13).5. Bom.Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 115.

^{6.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 221.

"resplendent moon in the sky of the circle of princes". His reign is by common consent acknowledged as the hexday of the Markhari rule. In describing his exploits the Haraha inscription says: "Being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, (he) occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Sulikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gaudas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm;" and adds that "the illustrious Isanavarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth."4 It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that under so successful a monarch as Isanavarman, the Markharis found no difficulty in lording it over the Maitrakas, and Dharasena II was soon reckoned among the "princes bending at his feet." Since Guhasena is given the title of Maharaja even in his last inscription issued in V.S. 248 (i.e. 567 A.D.) we may take it that the Maitrakas successfully maintained their independence throughout the reign of this king, and it was only after the removal of his strong hand by the death, that they were compelled to submit to the power of the Mankharis.

^{1.} Sastri, op.cit., Vol. XV, p. 119, verse 11.

^{2.} Cf. Pires, op.cit., p. 78.

^{3.} Mazumdar, op.cit., p. 120 (verse 13).

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. (verse 21)

^{5.} Buhler, op.et loc.cit.

The inscriptions as usual indulge in exaggerated praises of Dharasena's virtues. He is said to have 'astonished all the archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and skill acquired by practice'; that he maintained all the gifts of the previous kings; and that like his father he could show that Sri(wealth) and Saraswati (learning) could live together in his kingdom, a description which is similar to that of Kalidas' Bharatavakya or delineation of an ideal king in his Vikramorvasiya. He was liberal and charitable like the other rulers of his line, a fact which is amply borne out by the large number of grants that have come down to us recording his great donations to various donees irrespective of caste or creed.

Most of his grants were made to the Brahmanas learned in the different vedas. A copper-plate of the year V.S. 252 (i.e. 571 A.D.) is a record of a grant to one Rudragopa, son of Rudraghosha of Kauśravas gotra, who was a student of the Atharvaveda, and resided at Anarttapura i.e. modern Vadanagar. Another grant of the same year was made to a Brahmana named Chehhahara, who was a resident of Brahmapura and who was of the Bhargava gotra and of the Maitrayanaka sakha. The purposes for which the grants were made are recorded as in the cases of other the Brahmana donees, in the inscriptions e.g. the performance of the five great yagnas viz. Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

2. Altekar, A History of Important towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad, pp. 14-15; Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 183.

The object of the grant in each case was a xxxxxx certain piece of land the income from which was to be used by the donee for the specified objects. Other grants of this year mention some Brahmana donees who received similar donations with all the rights of the owners of the land, viz. that of "vata, bhuta (i.e. that which is to be cut, reaped or sown), grain, gold and adeya, and forced labour." One more grant of V.S. 254 (or V.S. 257 as read by some scholars) was made on a solar eclipse day. The date of this grant is very important and of special interest as it helps us to decide the era of the Maitraka records. Two more grants of the year V.S. 269 and V.S. 270 were made for the benefit of the Buddhist Viharas: one of these was to the Bappapaditya Vihara which was built by the famous monk Sthiramati, who is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, while the name of the other Vihara is not clear. The purpose of the grant is, as usual, for the repairs, worship, and for supplying the other requirements of the Bhikshus. In this grant the dutaka is Samanta Siladitya who probably succeeded Dharasena to the throne of Valabhi. Another grant which is thought to be spurious gives the year 400 of same unknown era. Buhler and other scholars have read it to be the Saka era.

A copper-plate grant dated G.E. 255 (i.e. 574 A.D.) of

Fleet, op.cit., plate XXIV, p. 164 (lines 26-27).
 Bühler, 'The Copper plate grant of Dharasena II', I.A.,X, p. 278.

Samanta Maharaja Simhaditya of the Garulaka family has been found at Palitana along with Maitraka grants. He was a feudatory of the Maitraka king and contemporary of Dharasena II. Did Simhaditya remain loyal to him during the days of his difficulties? This, of course, cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that the Maitraka and the Garulaka grants were found at the same place, induces us to believe that they did remain so, while the absence in the present record of any reference to the Maitrakas as Maharajas in contrast to the previous grant, would show that the Garulakas may have attempted to make themselves independent of their overlords.

^{1.} Hultzsch, 'Palitana Plates of Simhaditya, dated 255', E.I. XI, p. 16.

Siladitya I c.590-615 A.D.

Siladitya I (1) was the son and successor of Dharasena II. He was called Dharmaditya or the "sun of religion". He took particular care in following the model of the great kings of old.

As seen above the last known date of his predecessor Dharasena II is v.s. 270 (2) (i.e. c. 589 A.D.), and the first known date of his successor Kharagraha I is v.s. 297 (3) (i.e. 616 A.D.). This shows that he must have ruled for about twentyfive years, which may be reconciled to the round number of thirty vears' reign, assigned to him in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa (4). If this is granted, we may suppose that he succeeded his father in c. 590 A.D. and since his successor Kharagraha I's known date is 616 A.D., Siladitya's reign seems to have come to an end in about 615 A.D.

There are, in all, eleven copper-plate grants of this ruler known to us, and giving dates from v.s. 286 (5) (i.e. c. 605 A.D.) to v.s. 292 (6) (i.e. 611 A.D.). Besides these copper-plate grants, the Satrunjaya Mahatmya has a prophetic

⁽¹⁾ The name Siladitya was a favourite one with the Buddhists who valued virtue () more than valour ().

⁽²⁾ Bühler, "Alina Plates of Dharasena II", I.A., VII, p. 71.

⁽³⁾ Gadre, "The Amreli Plates of Kharagraha I, v.s. 297", Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State, pp. 7 ff; Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297", Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 659 ff; Annual Report of the Watson Museum 1933-34, pp. 7-8.

⁽⁴⁾ Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 24.

(5) Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, p.46; Sten Konow, "The Copper-plate Grant of the Valabhi king Siladitya I", E.I., XI, p.115

⁽⁶⁾ Banerjee, "The Bhadrenika Grant of Siladitya I, G.E. 292", E.I., XXI, pp. 116 ff.

account of Silāditya as one who will be propagator of religion in Vikrama Samvat 477 (1). But Vikrama Samvat 477 corresponds to 420 A.D. and at this epoch the Maitrakas had not yet assumed rulership over Saurāstra. However, if Vikrama Samvat is taken as a mistake for Saka Samvat, it would then correspond to the Gupta-Valabhi Samvat 237 or 556 A.D. But even then this would amount to, according to our chronology, antidating Silāditya by forty to fifty years. This, however, should not disturb us, in any way, since it is known that the work is comparatively modern, and consequently not much confidence could be reposed on its evidence. The fact seems to have been that the author took the current tradition about the Maitrakas and noted it down in his work, but paid little heed to chronology. Nevertheless, there should be no doubt that the Sīlāditya mentioned here, is the same as Sīlāditya I, for as in the inscriptions, he is also called Sīlāditya Dharmāditya.

The dynastic account as given in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa and the copper-plate grants of Siladitya, and the extent of his territories, as can be gathered from them and from those of his successors, settle once for all the controversy started by Dr. Hoernle (2). Siladitya's rule extended over the territory from 'Ujjain in Eastern Malava upto the western Ocean or to Cutch,

⁽¹⁾ सप्तस्रतिमद्धानामितकभ्य चतुः शतीम् । विक्रमिछ्लादित्यो भविता धर्मपृद्धि दिक्त

Satrunjaya Mahatmya, verse 286; Cf. Gadre, op.cit. p.8, n.24.

(2) Hoernle, "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History", J.R.A.S.,
1903, pp. 545 ff; 1909, pp. 122 ff. The controversy started by
br. Heernle was about identifying Siladitya of Malava, mentioned
by Hiuen Tsiang with Yasodharman of Malava, the conqueror of the
Hunas. But Jayaswal's account based on the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa
makes it clear that it was Siladitya, the Maitraka king who
ruled over Malava (Ef. Jayaswal, op.cit. p.24). This is
further supported by a grant of Siladitya's immediate successor
Kharagraha, issued from Ujjain in 616 A.D. (Cf. Gadre, op.cit.
pp. 7 ff). Dr. Hoernle's views are discussed in Appendix A

which is terms of the Puranic geography' is the limit of the western country (1). This Siladitya is rightly identified by Prof. M. Sylvain Levi with Siladitya of Mo-la-po (Malaya) (2) mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (3). It is certain that Malava was included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. The Virdi plates of his successor, dated v.s. 297 (i.e. 616 A.D.), were actually issued from Ujjain, the capital of Malava (4).

An excursion into the political history of this period is, therefore, necessary to account for this extension of his kingdom on the part of Siladitya I, since Malava had never formed a part of the Maitraka kingdom. It was fortunate for Siladitya that he should have ruled at a time when the various powers of Hindustan were exhausting themselves by constant warfare. Towards the end of the sixth century the later Guptas of Malava came into conflict with the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. This conflict probably arose due to the machination of Devagupta (who) evidently was a scion of the Gupta family (5). Devagupta would appear to have entered into a conspiracy against his kinsman Mahasenagupta, the then ruler of Malava, and agreed to have acknowledged the supremacy of Sankaragana on condition that he (Devagupta) was

⁽¹⁾ Jayaswal, "Places and People in Asoka's Inscriptions", I.A., LXII, pp. 121 ff.

⁽²⁾ Sylvain Levi, Journal des Savants, 1905, pp. 544-48; cf. Smith, The Early History of India, p. 344.

⁽³⁾ Beal, op.cit. II, p. 260; Watters, op.cit. II, p. 242.

⁽⁴⁾ Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297", Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 659 ff.

(5) The suggestion (cf. Hoernle, op.cit. 1904; Dandekar, History of the Guptas, p.180; Saletore, op.cit. p.65) that Devagupta must have been a son of Mahasenagupta, does not seem very reasonable. In the absence of any mention of such relationship in the family record, it is wise not to go beyond the suggestion that he was a scion of the Gupta family. Moreover, if they were so related, would Bana, who pays so much attention even to little details, have failed to note this interesting fact?

installed as the sovereign of Malava. The Abhona plates of Sankaragana seem to allude to the same fact, when they relate that he "re-installed families of kings who had long been dethroned", and "uprooted those that were too proud" (1). The disaffection between Devagupta and Mahasenagupta is also clear from the ommission of the former from the official geneology of the Guptas, which was continued in their records, when after the death of Harsa, Adityasena, the son of Madhavagupta, established his power at Magadha (2). It is also possible as Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri has pointed out, that Devagupta represented a collateral line of the Malava family, who were opposed to the policy of friendship with Thanesvara and Kanauj (3). For it must be borne in mind that a Gupta princess, Devi-Mahasenagupta, probably a sister of Mahasenagupta, had been married to Adityavardhana of the Thanesvara dynasty (4). Damodargupta, the father of Mahasenagupta is actually credited with

[&]quot;Abhona Plates of Sankaragana, K.Sam.347", E.I., IX, (1) Pathak. pp. 299 ff.

⁽²⁾ Fleet, "Apsad Inscription of Adityasena", and "Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II", C.I.I. III, pp. 200 ff. (3) Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 514.

(4) That Prabhakarvardhana was the son of Adityavardhana and Devi-Mahasenagupta is known from the Sonapat copper-seal inscription (cf. Fleet, op.cit. p.232 and also the Introduction C.I.I. III p. 15). From her cognomen Gupta, it has been assumed that the latter was a sister of Mahasenagupta (cf. Fleet, op.et loc.cit followed by Ganguli, op.cit. p.405; Dandekar, op.cit. p.174; Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age, p. 63 rejects without assigning reasons the suggestion of P.S.Parakhi in his Life of Harsa (Marathi) that Devi-Mahasenagupta was the sister of Damodargupta and blindly follows Fleet. But Parakhi's suggestion is untenable (vide App. No.A.C.) though apparently it looks plausible. We know from the Harsacharita p. 119, that Prabhakarvardhana was a contemporary of Mahasenagupta and that the sons of the latter were play-mates of Prabhakarvardhana's sons Rajyavardhana and Harsa. This makes it difficult, though not impossible, to believe that Devi-Mahasenagupta was Mahasenagupta's sister. The disparity in age, inferred from the circumstance that she belonged to the previous generation, would rather suggest that she was a sister of Damodargupta, father of Mahasenagupta. But as against this we have to bear in mind the fact that since the kings married young and had many wives taken at different times, the disparity in age among the children was nothing unusual.

stopping the progress of the Maukharis, who were the traditional enemies of the Guptas of Malava (1), and the marriage alliance between the two houses may have been brought about for this purpose. But not long after a grand-daughter of this Gupta princess, Rajyasri, was married to Grahavarman, the Maukhari king, and the Maukharis were thus brought within the ambit of the allies of the Gupta house.

Mahasenagupta must have suffered a terrible disaster at the hands of the allies and was probably killed in the battle (2). After this event his two sons Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta fled to Thanesvar and found shelter at the court of their relation Prabhakarvardhana (3), and Malava passed under the rule of Devagupta. Though no inscriptions of the latter have come down to us, the fact is nonetheless clear from the Thanesvar records (4). But Devagupta had to observe scrupulously the terms of the agreement he had entered into with Sankaragana. The afore-mentioned Abhona plates were issued from Ujjain, the capital of Malava, a circumstance which would show

that the Kalachuris had then imposed their hegemony on the Guptas of Ma Shortly after this Prathakarvardhana appears to have taken up the cause of the gupta princes and Malava (5). It is probable that he was joined by his son-in-law

stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis".

(2) Ganguli, "Malava in the 6th and the 7th Centuries", J.B.O.R.S.,

XIX, pp. 399 ff.

(5) Ganguli, op.cit. p. 405.

⁽¹⁾ Cf.Fleet, C.I.I. III, pp. 200 ff; The Aphsad inscription says that Damodargupta the son of Kumaragupta broke up "the proudly

⁽³⁾ Bana, op.cit., p.119 and in the Aphsad inscription (Fleet, C.I.I. III, pp. 200 ff) it is stated that one of these princes Madhavagupta was filled "with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harsadeva". Thus Bana's statement is confirmed by epigraphical evidence also.

⁽⁴⁾ The Madhuban and Bamskheda inscriptions class Devagupta among king "who resembled wicked horses, and who were ultimately vanquished by Rajyavardhana" (Bühler, "Banskhera Plate of Harsa", E.I., IV, p. 210; Bühler, "Madhuban Plates of Harsa", E.I. I, p. 72; Kielhorn, "Madhuban Plates", E.I. VII, p. 157). Since no other Gupta könse is known to have held sway anywhere else at this time, it follows that Devagupta was the ruler of Malava and is to be identified with the wicked king of Malava" Bana speaks of.

and ally Grahavarman (1). Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Malava king (2), Prabhakarvardhana could not drive th Kalachuris and their fleudatory Devagupta from their possessions in Mālava, and restore it to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta. As may be seen from his Abhone plates, Sankaragana firmly established his power at Ujjain (3), and it is clear from the Sankheda inscription of the time of Nirihullaka, a feadatory of Sankaragana, that he had extended his power as far as southern Gujarat (4). Now Bana describe Prabhakarvardhana also as "a locter to the lawlessness of the Lats" (5). It is well-known that the Lata country is the tract of land lying between the Tapti and the Mahi rivers, and has been described by Vatsyayana in his Kamasutra, a work written in the third century, as situated to the west of Malava (6). It is therefore possible that in the war with Prabhakarvardhana, Devagupta received valuable help also from the other feudatories of Sankaragana such as Nirihullaka (7) and the Gurjaras between whom the Lata country was then divided. We may take it that at least a contingent from the Lata country fought side by side with the Malava troops.

(2) Ibid. p. 101.

(3) Pathak, op.et loc. cit.

(5) Bana, op.cit. p. 101.

⁽¹⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 173. This is inferred from the attack of Devaguota on Kanauj, shortly after this, and the death of Grahavarman that followed, which would otherwise be unprovoked, and which would appear to have been the result of the sequence of events.

⁽⁴⁾ Dhruve "Three land-grants from Sankheda", E.I., II, pp. 26 ff.
This record in describing Nirihullaka as one who meditates on the
feet of Sankaragana, son of Krishnarāja clearly implies that
Nirihullaka had acknowledged the overlordship of Sankaragana.

⁽⁶⁾ Vide Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt.I, p. 7.

⁽⁷⁾ Dhruve, op.et loc. cit. (8) App. B.

and ally Grahavarman (1). Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Malava king (2), Prabhakarvardhana could not drive the Kalachuris and their fleudatory Devagupta from their possession; in Mālava, and restore it to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta. As may be seen from his Abhone plates, Sankaragana firmly established his power at Ujjain (3), and it is clear from the Sankheda inscription of the time of Nirihullaka, a feadatory of Sankaragana, that he had extended his power as far as southern Gujarat (4). Now Bana describe. Prabhakarvardhana also as "a looter to the lawlessness of the Lats" (5). It is well-known that the Lata country is the tract of land lying between the Tapti and the Mahi rivers, and has been described by Vatsyayana in his Kamasutra, a work written in the third century, as situated to the west of Malava (6). It is therefore possible that in the war with Prabhakarvardhana, Devagupta received valuable help also from the other feudatories of Sankaragana such as Nirihullaka (7) and the Gurjaras between whom the Lata country was then divided. We may take it that at least a contingent from the Lata country fought side by side with the Mālavā troops.

⁽¹⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 173. This is inferred from the attack of Devaganta on Kanauj, shortly after this, and the death of Grahavarman that followed, which would otherwise be unprovoked, and which would appear to have been the result of the sequence of events.

⁽²⁾ Ibid. p. 101.

⁽³⁾ Pathak, op.et loc. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ Dhruve "Three land-grants from Sankheda", E.I., II, pp. 26 ff.
This record in describing Nirihullaka as one who meditates on the feet of Sankaragana, son of Wrishnaraja clearly implies that Nirihullaka had acknowledged the overlordship of Sankaragana.

⁽⁵⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 101.

⁽⁶⁾ Vide Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt.I, p. 7.

⁽⁷⁾ Dhruve, op.et loc. cit. (8) App. B.

Sankaragana died after an exceptionally successful reign, sometime before 602 A.D. (1). In the reign of his son Buddharāja the Kalachuri advance was checked by the rising power of the Chālukyas. The struggle between the two powers seems to have continued for about a decade. The Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa, issued in April 602 A.D. records a crushing defeat inflicted on Buddharaja by this king. "Having set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region", says this record. "and having conquered king Buddha (and) having taken possession of all his substance, The desired 7 to set up a pillar of victory of his prowess on the bank of (the river) Bhagirath, (2). The Nerur plates refer to this victory, when they relate that Mangalesa "had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Sankaragana, and who was the possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure" (3). It was inevitable that the two powers should come to a clash. The Kalachuris were extending their conquest to the south and the south-west, while Mangalesa, as the Mahakuta inscription aptly observes, had already "set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region" (4). But it was not an easy thing to defeat the Kalachuris. It is evident from the description, in the Chalukyan inscriptions (5), of the armies which Buddharaja

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, "The Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of the Chalukya king Mangalesa", I.A., XIX, pp. 19 ff. From this inscription it is clear that Buddharaja succeeded Sankaragana in or about 602 A.D. when he is said to have defeated by Managas

⁽²⁾ Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions", I.A., VII, p.162

⁽⁴⁾ Fleet, "The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription of the Chalukya king Mangalesa", I.A., XIX, pp. 19 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid; Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II", E.I., VI, p. 8; Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions", I.k., VII, p. 162.

launched against the Chālukyas, that he was indeed a formidable adversary (1). And it seems certain that had Mangalēśa to deal with him single-handed, Buddharāja would have surely given him a short shrift. But fortunately for the Chālukyas the Kalachuri king had also to fight against enemies nearer home viz. the Puṣpabhūti-Maukhari combination, which was bent on reinstating the Gupta princes Kūmāragupta and Mādhavagupta in Mālavā. In describing Vidiša, the present Besnagar, one of the chief cities of Mālavā at this time, as "his camp of victory", the Vaḍner plates of Buddharāja (2), which record a grant of land in the Vātananagara. Bhōga (i.e. Chandward tāluka, Nāsik district) in the extreme south of his dominions, clearly imply that the king had been called up north-east, presumably to repel an invasion of these enemies.

The Kalachuris could not withstand the onslaughts delivered simultaneously from north and south; their resources were exhausted before long, and their power came to a violent end.

With the disappearance of the imperial Kalachuris from the arena, Devagupta may have assumed independence. At any rate, he is no longer referred to in a subordinate capacity and is next

No. 7, p. 33.

⁽¹⁾ The fact that the Kalachuri king was the formidable adversary of the Chalukyas is evident from the Aihole prasasti of Pulikesin II, who, notwithstanding the fact that he had every reason to pass over in silence the achievements of his uncle because of his attempt to deprive him of his inheritance, proudly claims his feat against the Kalachuris. "Mangalesa", says the inscription "took in marriage the damsel, the fortune of the Kalachuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, vize the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright rayed lamps (viz) swords (of his followers) and was desirous of taking the island of Revati (E·I·, VI, p·8).

(2) Gupte "Vadner Plates of Buddharaja, K·Sam· 360", E·I·, XII,

met with as an ally of Śaśānka, the king of Gauda (1). The fact appears to have been that at this time Śaśāńka, who was trying to throw off the overlordship of Kāmarupa, must have been as much in need of an ally as Dēvagupta himself. We know that Karnasūvarņa once formed part of the dominions of Bhāskaravarman (Kāmarupa) since his Nidhānpur plates were issued from this place (2). But it is clear from Bāṇa that it had changed hands by 610-11 A·D·(3), and Śaśāńka was in undisputed possession of it - thus testifying to the success that crowned his efforts. Thus community of interest may have been driven Dēvagupta and Śaśānka into each others arms. Our view finds confirmation in the slow and steady rise of Śaśāńka to imperial power. At first he was no better than a feudal chief, and he actually appears in his Rohtasgadh stone seal inscription as a Mahāsāmanta only (4). But 619-20 A·D· he had already attained to imperial status (5).

Such was the realigment of powers after the disappearence of the Kalachuris from the historical stage. Happily for Devagupta and his ally, the Puspabhutis were threatened by a new menace on their north-western frontiers. This was the old scourge that had

⁽¹⁾ It has been suggested that Sasanka allied himself with Devagupta because of his blood relationship, both being of the Gupta family (Cf. Basak, History of North-Eastern India, p. 183). This latter fact, it is said, is borne out by the appellation 'Narendragupta' applied to Sasanka. In the absence of authentic information on this point, the suggestion may be left at this. What seems to have brought the two princes together was not so much, as we have demostrated, blood-relationship as their immediate common interes (2) Bhattacharya, "Nidhanpur Copper-plates of Bhaskarvarman", E.I.,

XII, p. 73. (3) Appendix No. E,F (4) Fleet, "Rohtasgadh Stone Seal-Matrix of the Mahasamanta

Sasankadeva", C.I.I. III, p. 283.

(5) Hultzsch, "Plates of the time of Sasankaraja G.Samvat 300", E.I., VI, p. 143. The inscription refers to him as exercising his authority over Samantas and called him Maharajadhiraja.

afflicted the Gupta empire in their last days and concluded this most glorious epoch in our history. The Hunas, who were showing signs of new activity, had to be nipped in the bud, if history were not to repeat itself. Accordingly, Prabhakarvardhana mustered a mighty host. But being too ill to assume himself the supreme command, he placed his elder son Rajyavardhana at the head of his troops (1). Even so the effort which this danger called forth, and the anxiety the situation caused, were too much for the ailing monarch, and he succumbed to his illness before the decision of the issue. This was a golden opportunity for Devagupta to aggrandise himself at the expense of his enemies. He first surprised Kanauj; Grahavarman (was taken) unawares, and in the absence of any support from Thaneswar, the Maukhari kingdom fell an easy prey to the invader. "On the very day", says Bana, "on which the king's Prabhākarvardhana's 7 death was rumoured his majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Malava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds" (2). The king had been so completely taken by surprise that he found no time even to remove his family to a place of safety. In consequence the royal seraglio fell into the hands of the victor. They king was beheaded and the queen Rajasri was sentenced to spend the rest of her life behind prison bars. "Rajasri also" the message concluded, "had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kanyakubja (3).

⁽¹⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 132.

⁽²⁾ Ibid. p. 173.

⁽³⁾ Ibid.

Thaneswar itself (1). By this time, however, Rajyavardhana, had already arrived at his capital, having brought the war against the Hunas to a victorious conclusion (2). On receipt of news of the impending invasion of his territories by Devagupta, he left Harsa in charge of the administration and marched against the enemy with his cousin Bhandi in command of 10,000 horses. Bana would have us believe that with ridiculous ease he routed the Malava army (3), but was shortly afterwards treacherously killed by Devagupta's ally, Sasanka, the king of Gauda(4). The latter, would seem to have invited him to a parley and thus 'Wilured to confidence by false civilities", to quote Bana again, "on the part of the king of Gauda and then weaponless, confinding, and alone (was) despatched in his own quarters" (5).

the relative position of the contending parties emerges from the circumstances under which "the murder" of Rājyavardhana was committed. To have accepted the invitation to a parley, and that too in the enemy's own camp, shows that the decision of the issue must have been still in dispute, the parties equally matched, and the balance slightly tilting in favour of Śaśāńka. Furthermore, the Madhuban

(1) Ibid.

⁽²⁾ Smith, op.cit. p. 349.

⁽³⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 178.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid. Bana is not clear as to the allurement offered by Sasanka.

But Sankara, an old commentator of the Harsacharita would have us believe that he enticed Rajyavardhana by the offer of his daughter in marriage. He adds that while the banquet was in progress in the Gauda camp, Sasanka killed his would-be son-in-law in disguise. Sankara, however, is a later writer whose source of information is not known to us.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid.

plates of Harsa significantly observe, in regard to Rajyavardhana's achievements, that he "curbed Devagupta" merely, which would mean that at this juncture, the latter was far from being crushed - and eventually for the successful accomplishmend of which, - Rajyavardhana, at any rate, was not responsible. But Bana nevertheless refers to "the Malava king's army and royal equipage won by the power of his majesty Rajyavardhana's arms" (1), a circumstance from which it may probably be inferred that the advance into Kanyakubja was made by Devagupta alone and it was only when he was on the point of being routed by Rajyavardhana that he appealed to Sasanka for assistance; and the latter's timely appearance helped not only to restore the balance but also to retrive the losses already suffered by Devagupta. Rajyavardhana, it is plain, had underrated the potential powers of the Malava usurper: "why thus dear brother" he is reported to have said to Harsa when the latter begged leave to join in the expedition, "by putting forth too great an effort, add importance to a fee too slight for our power? A concourse of lions in the matter of a deer is too degrading" (2). The Thaneswar troops were overwhelmed by the superior numbers which the Gauda king must have brought to the relief of Devagupta, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Bhandi could escape with the spoils they had won by defeating the Malava troops (3). This becomes

⁽¹⁾ Ibid. p. 225.

(2) Ibid. p. 176.

(3) From the fact that Rājyavardhana had defeated the Mālava army, the late Rao Bahadur R.P.Chanda concluded that the defeat was inflicted in Mālava itself. But the circumstances do not warrant this inference. Devagupta, at this time, was actually in possession of Kanauj itself. Nor is there any support for the Rao Bahadur's opinion that Bhandi was sent back to Thaneswar after his victory over Mālava. What seems to have transpired was that as said above with the appearance of Sasānka on the scene, the Thaneswar troops were overpowered, and Rājyavardhana fell into the enemy's hands; when it was found impossible to rescue the sovereign, Bhandi did the next best thing, viz. to prevent a wholesale surrender, and by a skillful rearguard action succeeded in reaching Thāneswar.

evident from the way in which Bana describes Bhandi when he made his appearance before Harga in "his soiled garb, has breast filled with the points of enemies' arrows, like an array of iron pins implanted to restrain his heart from bursting" (1). Whatever may have been the actual fact connected with Rājyavardhana's death, whether he was treacherously murdered or was captured and then dispatched (2), it is at all events, evident that the tables were turned against him with the appearance of Śaśāńka on the scene. Despite the visible efforts of Bāṇa to conceal the defeats of Rājyavardhana under the cover of treachery, the following words which he puts into Harga's mouth, make it abundantly clear that the expedition had ended in a disaster: "the hot pain of my brother's defeat forbids even the briefest delay in marching" (3). The war was thus an unqualified victory for the allied powers, and Bāṇa admits it as such in the laconic reply of Bhandi to Hargavardhana: "After his

(1) Bana, op.cit. p. 223.

⁽²⁾ It is not unlikely that Rājyavardhana's death is said to have been caused by treachery because he was killed in an unarmed and captive state, an inference justified by the cirsumstances according to Bana, under which his death was brought about: "weaponless, confiding and alone". This, according to the rules of warfare among the Ksatriyas, was considered unheroic and cowardly - Cf. Max Muller, Laws of Manu, S.B.I. XXV, p. 231.

⁽³⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 191. We are glad to note that our doubt, as to the supposed murder of Rājyavardhana was shared by the late Rao Bahadur R.P. Chanda who in his Gauda Rajamāla, pp. 8-10, arguing from different premises, actually concluded that Rājyavardhana had been killed in a fair-fight, a conclusion which we again find is supported by R. D. Banerji (History of Orissa, I, p. 126; Bāngalar Itihāsa Part I, p. 107) and Mazumdar (Barly History of Bengal, p. 17). Dr. Basak, in his History of North-Eastern India p. 146, has, however, disputed this conclusion. His first argument is that Harsa would not have prepared an expensive and elaborate expedition at this tender age "but for the fact that he wished to avenge the treacherous death of his brother". Dr. Basak has here failed to gauge the gravity of the situation after the defeat of the Thāneswar army, when Thāneswar itself must have beer threatened by the combined forces of Devagupta and Sasānka, who were now the undisputed masters of Kanauj. The second argument of Basak is equally futile, viz. that it was the treachery prac-

majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise ... Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta ..." (1). It is needless to point out that this Gupta could be none else than Devagupta himself. A serious task now confronted the young prince to seek out his widowed sister, and to avenge his brother's defeat and death. But Harşa rose equal to the task. He issued a proclamation, that all kings "as far as the Orient hill, ... as far as Suvela (2) as far as the western mount as far as Gandhamādana (must) prepare their hands to give tribute or grasp swords" (3). This was in sober language, an order to his feudatories to manifest their real intentions either to place themselves and their resources under the command of their liege-lord, or fight him. Thus assured of their loyalty, Harşa himself went in search of his sister, while he entrusted to Bandhi the more difficult task of leading the attack on Sasānka and his ally (4). Both these missions were crowned with

tised on Rājyavardhana that made "Harsa's vassals and independent rulers" support his cause. For one thing, despite the disastrous end of the expedition, the resources of Thaneswar were still considerable for the vassals to think of renouncing their allegiance to the Vardhanas; and secondly, if an independent like Bhaskarvarman proposed an alliance with Harsa, it was because he himself had been either already hard pressed by Sasānka, or was becoming apprehensive of his increasing power, and found in the war between the Gaudas and the Puspabhutis, a favourable occasion to broach the question of alliance, to safeguard his own interests. But it is more probable as has been hinted at above, it was under the terms of an offensive and defensive treaty, already subsisting between the two powers, that Bhāskarvarman came to the help of Harsa. The statement of Dr. Basak that "there was no record of any fight between Rājyavardhana and Sasānka" is disproved by the passage quoted above where Bāna in an unguarded moment, as it would seem, has given expression to the truth of the matter. We are not insensitive to the cumulative effect of the inscriptional evidence (cf. Kielhorn, "Madhuban Plates of Harsa", E.I., VII, p. 159 and Bühler, "Banskhera Plates of Harsa", E.I., VII, p. 208-11) backed by that of Bānaand Hiuen Tsiang (cf. Watters, II, p. 343 and Beali, II, p. 210). But it should be noted that it is one sided, and may have been intended by Bāna, who was living under the patronage of Harsa and Hiuen Tsiang, who had every reason to hate a persecutor of Buddhism such as Sasānka, to malign the latter.

⁽¹⁾ Bana, op.cit. p. 224. (3) Bana, op.cit. p. 224.

⁽²⁾ A mountain in Lanka, Ceylon

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid.

success. Arriving at the nick of time when Rajasri was preparing to plunge herself into the funeral pyre, Harsa saved her from a cruel death. Bandhi, whose exploits are not recorded for us by any writer, must also have carried all before him, since Harsa is very soon seen in secure possession of Kanauj (1). In summing up the result of this expedition, the Manju-Sri-Mula-kalpa, a later Buddhist work, tells us that Sasanka was reduced to abject submission and was thereafter compelled to confine himself to his own kingdom (2). This remark, of course, should not be taken literally, for the reason that Sasanka was still in his ascendency as late as 619-20 A.D. So much so that not only was he able to preserve his own kingdom of Gauda intact, but even have his suzerainty acknowledged by kings beyond his frontiers (3). In fact in a record of the Silodhohava family of Orissa, issued in the year 300 of the Gupta era (619-20 A.D.), the chief Madhavaraja II, who here describes himself as "Maharaja Mahasamanta" in referring to the reign of "Mahārājadhirāja the Alorious Sasāhka" (4), acknowledges by implication that the latter was his overlord. It is therefore doubtful

⁽¹⁾ The fact that Harsa entertained scruples about proclaiming himself the king of the Maukhari dominions, is clear from Bana (op.cit. p. 57) and Hiuen Tsianges account (Watters, op.cit. I p.343). This unwillingness to comply with the request of his counsellors was due to the fact that Harsa was afraid lest this step should antagonise the people of Kanauj for the reason that he was not the rightful heir. But things had come to such a pass that they had now to choose between Harsa and Sasanka. For in the event of Harsa not accepting the kingdom, Sasanka was ready to pounce on it. In these circumstances they may not have though it advisable to leave the power in the hands of their young queen Rajyasri, and run the risk of their country being again invaded by Sasanka's armies. Harşa, on his part, proceeded very cautiousl in the matter, preferring to be called merely "Kumara" untill such time when be became assured that his assumption of the supreme power in the state had the approval of the whole populace It was only then that he dared to style himself as Maharaja (e.g. in the Nalanda Seal of Harsa, A.S.I.R., Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44) and probably made Kanauj his capital.

⁽²⁾ Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 51. (3) Nagendra Nath, The Social History of Kamarupa, I, p. 147.

⁽⁴⁾ Hultzsch, op. et loc. cit.

if during his campaign Bandh succeeded in penetrating into Sasānka's dominions further than Kosala, especially because, as is evident from the above record, the country to the east of the present Ganjam district was still included within Sasānka's empire.

This struggle between Harsa and Sasānka seems to have continued for a considerably long period; and it is clear even in the light of the evidence furnished by sources favourable to Harsa, that he could not have prevailed over his adversary. The Manju-Śri-Mula-kalpa, while extolling his achievements, is constrained to admit that he could not make headway towards the east, and was compelled to beat a retreat homewards:

"Parājayāmasa Somākhyam dustakarmānuchārinam |
tatō nisiddhah somākhyō Svadēšenāvatistatah | (725)
nivartayāmāsa hakārākhyō māechchharājyēmapūjitah |
tustakarmā hakārākhyō nrpah śreyasā chārthadharminah | (726)
Svadēšaēnaiva prayātah yathēstagatināpi vā " | (7274)

In the light of this passage we may picture to ourselves the grand strategy determined upon by Harsa or rather by Bandhi, his general. It was that Sasanka's dominions should be attacked simultaneously by Bandhi from the north-west and Bhaskaravarman from his kingdom of Assam in the north-east. The converging point of the Allies wase some place in the northern portion of Bengal, from which they were to march on Sasanka's capital, Karnasuvarna. But Sasanka drew a wedge as it were between the hostile armies and made it impossible for them to join their forces. He crushed the

⁽D'Harsa) He defeated Sma (5'asian'tea) the purpher of wicked deeds and Suna we forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain there in (thereseportes). He returned having (or not having) been honoured in that being dome of the barbar'an

forces of Bhaskarvarman, who is not so much as mentioned in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa; while Harsa, who had advenced as far as Pundra in north Bengal, "not being honoured with welcome in these foreign countries" (1), as this work euphamistically puts it returned leisurely to his own kingdom". The inference to which we are led is not that Sasanka "escaped with little loss", as Dr. Vincent Smith has concluded but that Harsa had reason to be thankful that Bandhi was able to withdraw his army without heavy loss. Again when the AMMK says that Harsa returned to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he achieved victory it evidently magnifies out of all proportion as is not unusual in Buddhist sources while speaking of Buddhist kings, the successful depredation of the enemy country till Pundra. The results of the expedition were therefore nugatory in the extreme. Nor does the argument of Basak viz. that "Sasanka's defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were largely debased by a great mixture of silver" (3) establish his point. The debasement of currency need not necessarily show a defeat of the power issuing such coinage. It only indicates that the period was one of stress and strain and financial stringency An exact parallel to the circumstances then facing Sasanka, is provided by the British Government in the present conflict. The currency is now debased not as a result of England's defeat, but because the ever growing expenses of the war has to be met among other things by this device.

⁽¹⁾ Vide, Basak, op. et loc. cit. (3) Smith, op. ar, p. 352

⁽³⁾ Basak, "Sasanka, king of Bengal", I.H.Q. VIII, p. 150.

That being so, we may take it that the conflict between the two powers continued unabated (1) till the death of Sasanka somewhere about the year 625 A.D.

An event which occurred in the course of this struggle, and which had repurcussions on the history of the Maitrakas, is that Devaguota is heard of no more. It seems probable that when Kanyakubja was wrested from the allies, and Sasanka was confined to his own kingdom, that is to say put on the defensive. Devagupta, probably may have either died or resigned from his active life in the course of the conflict. But strangely enough, the ancient kingdom of Malava is not annexed to Harsa's empire, as it should have been. On the contrary we now find it in the ossession of Siladitya, the Maitraka king (2). How is this to be explained? The suggestion offers itself that on the fall of Devagupta, Sasanka may have allied himself with Siladitya and offered as a quid pro quo the province of Malava, which was now without a ruler. This suggestion is supported by the fact that no sooner did Harsa find himself safe on his eastern frontiers consequent on the death of his formidable ememy Sasanka, he attacked the Maitraka kingdom. This is seen from the Guraara records (3)

⁽¹⁾ Majumdar, The History of Bengal, I, p. 64.

(2) This is inferred from the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang (p. et.loc.cl who says that Siladitya was the ruler of Malava, and also from the Virdi copper-plate grant of his immediate successor Kharagraha I, dated v.s. 297 i.e. 616 A.D. which was actually issued from Ujjain; Cf. Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297", The Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 659 ff.

⁽³⁾ Bhagwanlal Indraji, "The Nausāri Grant of Jayabhatta II of the Gurjara family, Che. Sam. 456", I.A., XIII, p. 79; Acharya, Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, II, pp. 42 ff. (No. 117).

King Siladitya was a man of a very lively nature. In Hiuen Tsiang's account he is described as a man who "from the time of his birth never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses", it is further said "drank water that has been strained after which he gave it to them, lest any creature living in water should be injured" (1). these words his love of humanity is described. He was a man of eminent wisdom and great learning, and his skill in literature was profound (2). The Maitraka copper-plate grants describe him as a liberal and religious man. His great intellectual abilities as recorded in the grants must have been due to his knowledge of different philosophies acquired by him from preceptors like Dhanesvara and others. His skill in literature, as described by the Chinese traveller, receives confirmation from the description of him in the epigraphical records as a poet (3), while his generosity is manifest from a good number of grants that have bome down to is recording his donations to individuals and institutions.

We know that like most of the Maitraka rulers Siladitya I was also a staunch Saivite. His various grants have recorded his liberality towards the Brahman (4). One of his grants dated v.s. 290 (i.e. 609 A.D.) was made to a temple of Mahadeva (5) - which

(5) Acharya, op.cit. I, p. 131; Bühler, I.A., IX, pp. 237-239.

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit. II, pp.260-62; Watters, op.cit. II, p. 242.

⁽²⁾ Ibid.

(3) Acharva, Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, I, p. 181; Bhandarka "A Valabhi Copper-plate Record", J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 77;

Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, pp. 14 ff.

(4) An example of such a grant is recorded in copper-plates dated

⁽⁴⁾ An example of such a grant is recorded in copper-plates dated v.s. 290 (i.e.609 A.D.). The grant was made to Brahmines Mitrasarman and Gamesvara, sons of Rudrasarman. These donees originally belonged to a village of Dasapura (Mandsor in Malava) but were living at Valabhi at the time when they received the grant.

is a rare instance, looking to the fact that though almost all the kings of the Maitraka line were Paramamahesvaras, no other grant to a Saivite institution is known to exist. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that such grants have either been lost in the course of the centuries or, which is more probable, that Saivism being the religion of the rulers, the Siva temples were state foundations and maintained from the State revenue. But a Siva temple referred to by one of the Valabhi grants (1) also shows that even private individuals undertook the building of Siva temples. It may incidentally be observed that one of these copper-plates records a grant made by Siladitya to a sun-temple in the year v.s. 292 (i.e. 611 A.D.) (2) - a unique instance of a Maitraka ruler's patronage of Sun-worship. The benefits of Siladitya's liberality were also enjoyed by members of other religions. The Satrunjaya-Mahatmya, a Jaina work, mentions that it's author was a preceptor of Siladitya; while as regards the Buddhists there are specific instances of grants made to them. Two of these - one dated v.s. 286 (i.e. 605 A.D.) and the other whose date cannot be ascertained - were made to a Buddhist Vihara in Vamsakata, which was built by the king himself. The grants of v.s. 287 (i.e. 606 A.D. and v.s. 290 (i.e. 609 A.D.) were made for the benefit of the Bhikkunis of the Yaksasura Vihara. Describing his favour to the Buddhists, Hiuen Tsiang has remarked that he cherished and protected

⁽¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁾ Banerji, "The Bhadreniyaka Grant of Siladitya I, G.E. 292", E.I., XXI, p. 117.

the four kinds of creatures, and deeply respected the three treasures (1). By the side of his palace Siladitya built a Vihara (2) and "he exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it". In it he put images of seven Buddhas. Lords of the world" (3). "Every year", says Hiuen Tsiang, "he convoked an assembly called Moksha Maha Parisad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them the four things, in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety" (4). This very well shows that the meritorious custom started by Siladitya continued in practice, till Hiuen Tsiang's time i.e. 640 A.D. All this shows the broad religious outlook of this Saivite king. The spirit of Sarvadharmasamabhava or catholicity of the mind of the Maitrakas, is best illustrated in the policy of Siladitya whose equal treatment of his subjects, irrespective of the religious differences among them, justified the title assumed on his accession viz. that of Dharmaditya.

In his introduction to the <u>Satrunjaya Mahatmya</u>, Dhaneśvara narrates that he tried to induce <u>Siladitya</u> to expell the Buddhist from Valabhi, and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas.

To a liberal minded man like him, such a thing could have appealed

⁽¹⁾ Buddha, dharma and sangha

⁽²⁾ This Vihara may be the ancient Vihara of Talaja as identified by Shah in Purattatva, I, p. 99 (30 miles from Bhavnagar)

⁽³⁾ Beal, op.cit. II, p. 261.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid.

only in the event of the safety and peace of his kingdom being endangered by the set of people marked cut for such a treatment. It is possible that Dhanesvara Suri pointed out some Buddhist individuals in the kingdom working against the interest of Siladitya and favouring Harsa. And accordingly, the statement of the Satrunjava Mahatmya is true only to the extent that Siladitya, who had fallen out with Harsa, might have been compelled by this circumstance to take steps against some Buddhists suspected of disloyalty and expelled them from the country. This event was exaggerated by the Jainas, as expulsion of the Buddhists as a community. Furthermore. had Siladitya really persecuted the Buddhists, as this Jaina would have us believe. Hiuen Tsiang would not have praised him as a zealous adherent of the religion of Sakyasimha. The fact of the matter therefore seems to have been that Siladibya was constrained to take precautionary measures so as to forestall any manifestation of sympathy for Harsa on the part of his Buddhist subjects on the score of their common religion. It may be noted in passing that under similar circumstances Sasanka, as we are informed by the Chinese pilgrim, let loose a sanguinary persecution against the Buddhists through out his empire (1).

Usually in the Valabhi grants the <u>dutaka</u> is the heir-apparent, and it was only during the minority period of the heir-apparent that other dutakas were appointed. Now it is seen that in the first six grants of Siladitya I, the dutaka was Bhatta-Adityayasas (2). But the dutaka in the grants of v.s. 290 onwards

⁽¹⁾ Watters, op. cit. II, p. 115.

⁽²⁾ Acharya, op.cit. Nos. 51-56.

is Śri-Kharagraha, who actually succeeded his elder brother Śilāditya I (1).

The geneology of the Maitrakas, however, makes it clear that Siladitya did have a son, Derabhatta, a prince of undoubted abilities (2). What made Siladitya declare Kharagraha as his successor cannot be said definitely. The inscriptions merely say that Siladitya "excessively full of respect (for him) /Kharagraha / (Behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra" (3). Now this allusion to the contest between Upendra i.e. Vişnu and Indra, concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, would seem to suggest that there was some dispute regarding the succession to the Valabhi throne between the two brothers, and that in the end Kharagraha, like Upendra, had the point in dispute conceded to him (4), evidently during the last years of Siladitya's reign when Kharagraha appears as dutaka in the former's grants. That there was some trouble about the succession at this time and that Derabhatta was forcibly excluded therefrom is also apparent from the Maitraka grants of three succeeding generations of rulers, which pass Derabhatta in silence, and from

⁽¹⁾ Ibid. Nos. 57 and 60.

⁽²⁾ There is a legend current among the people at Gogha to the effect that a Valabhi prince was expelled from the kingdom because he was in love with some fishergirl. The prince we are told, thereupon went southwards in the course of his wonderings, and having obtained victory over the king of Lanka, he settled there with the fisher-girl as his queen. We do not whether the story has any reference to Derabhatta. However, it is possible to suppose that the exile of Derabhatta, if he had been exiled at all, may have lingered in popular memory and was embellished with a touch of romance by some fertile mind in a later age.

⁽³⁾ Fleet, op.cit. p. 182.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Visnu Purana, V, 30.; Hall's edition of Wilson's translation V, p. 97.

the fact that he comes to be mentioned only when the succession
was restored to his house in the person of his son Dhruvasena III (1)

In the records that speak of him Derabhatta is compared to Saint Agastya. He is also spoken of as the master of countries lying between the Sahya (the Western Ghauts) (2) and the Vindhyas (3) It is probably under his military leadership that some more land in this part of the country was conquered. Now that we know that Derabhatta did not succeed his father on the Valabhi throne, the conquest of this territory must have been effected in Siladitya's time. Only a few years before this, as we saw above, the struggle had been going on here between the chief Nirihullaka and his overlords the Kalachuris on the one hand and the Gurjaras backed by the Chalukyas on the other. But we know from the Vadner plates dated 609 A.D. (19th August) that the Kalachuri king Buddharaja granted some plot of land in the Vatanagarabhoga (Candvad taluka, Nasik district), a circumstance, which proves that at this date the Kalachuri power extended as far as that region (4). This extension may have taken place during the civil war between Mangalesa and Pulikesin when in the words of the Aihole inscription "the whole world was enveloped

⁽¹⁾ It is not likely, though not impossible, that Derabhatta should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle Kharagraha I. Further we see that in the Valabhi grants the names of those who succeeded to the throne are given in nominative case. But the names of Derabhatta and of his son prince Siladitya are given in the genetive case; and they are not styled paramesvaras. This is a further proof that they were not anointed as rulers.

⁽²⁾ Vişnu Purāna, p. 474; Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 171.

⁽³⁾ This is seen from all the copper-plate records issued from the time of Dhruvasena III onwards.

⁽⁴⁾ Gupte, op. et loc. cit.

by the darkness of enemies" (1). But fortunately for the Chalukyas, Buddharaja had also to fight with enemies in the north; and as we have already noted, the advancing power of the Kalachuris foundered on the rock of opposition of these northern neighbours somewhere in 610 A.D. (2). Nirihullaka or his successor Appayika (3) may have then made himself independent; and it was thus that as the Aihole record remarks when Pulikesin emerged victorious from the civil war, he found himself confronted by Appayika. Now since the Chalukya power had been weakened by the civil war (4), Pulikesin doubtless found it difficult to deal with the enemy single-handed. He may therefore have requisitioned help from his neighbour the Maitraka king Siladitya. The latter in his turn may have sent his son Derabhatta against Appayika. The expedition was successful; the dynasty of Nirihullaka was extinguished, and the land which they claimed as their principality was partitioned between the allies. While the territory, the possession of which had been contested by the Chalukyas and the Kalachuris viz. Southern Gujarat and North Konkan, went to the former, the tract between the conjunction of the Sahya and the Vindhya ranges were retained by the Maitrakas. It is highly probable that this territory was made over

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions", I.A., VIII, p. 242; Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II", E.I., ▼I pp. 1 ff.

⁽²⁾ Kielhorn, "Sarsavami plate of the Kalachuri king Buddharaja" E.I., VI, pp. 297 ff. This is the last known beard of the depot of the last known beard of the depot of the last known beard of the depot of the last known beard of the last known b

⁽³⁾ That Appayika was a descendant of Nirihullaka is suggested by Prof. Moraes in his "Notes on the Pre-Kadamba History of Goa", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session, 1941, p. 168.

⁽⁴⁾ The fact that the Chalukyan power had been weakened by the civil war is clear from Pulikesin's title in the sixth year of his reign when he calls himself "maharaja, glorious Satyassaya" only. Cf. Fleet, "Yekkeri Rock Inscription of the time of Pulikesin II", E.I., V, p. 8.

to the charge of Derabhatta, who had led this campaign to a successful conclusion - a fact which justifies his description as the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and the Vindhya for (its) lovely breakts, the nipples of which, are (their) summits that are made of a dark blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them)" (1). Over this territory, it is possible, Derabhatta ruled with independent rather than dependent authority and was, after his death, succeeded by his son Silāditya. Of him the inscriptions say that he was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains". This wan perhaps the terms of the compromise between the two brothers, Silāditya and Kharagraha.

In one of the Maitraka copper-plates a queen by name

Janjikā is referred to (2). She was probably Šīlāditya's wife.

This is the only instance in the Valabhi records where a queen is mentioned. Her name was mentioned here to show the location of a piece of land which was granted to a Brahming and it was situated to the south-east of Kālāsamka - a village which was in her possession

In the copper-plates Siladitya has curtailed the geneological list by dropping the names of the four sons of Senapati

Bhat araka, who was the founder of the dynasty. The practice was followed by the later kings of the dynasty, who instead of further curtailments, used larger plates and wrote the details of their records in small letters.

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, "Alina Copper-plates Inscription of Siladitya VII", C.I., III, p. 184.

⁽²⁾ Acharya, op.cit. No. 55; Diskalkar, "Valabhi Plates", J.B.B.R.A.S. (A.S.), I, p. 28.

A clay seal bearing the legend "Sri Siladitya" was found in the ruins of Valabhi. In the absence of more details or the date of the seal, the question as to which of the seven Siladityas of this dynasty this seal belonged, remains unsolved (1). The Mahayanic work Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa gives a detailed account of king Siladitya's character. It records that "in the country of Ladas (extending from Ujjain to the western coast), there will be a king Šīla a Buddhist. At Valabhi, he will be a dharma-rāja. He will make attractive (artistic, 'cistran') monasteries with relics for public good, and beautiful Buddha images, and various worships" (2). Thus Hiuen Tsiang's eulogy for his devotion to Buddhism is well corroborated by this Buddhist work of the eight century. Then again the Valabhi records give the most eloquent expression to the eulogy of his noble character, specially when he is described to have attained great glory by making clear the path of the kings of the Krta Yuga, which was blocked up since long. In other words the perfectly righteous rule of this noble king reminded his people of the glorious reigns of ancient kings like Rama and others. The people felt as if the golden age was revived after a long interval of several centuries. It is said that 'he had purified his enjoyment of wealth, felicity and prosperity by the unfailing adherence to virtue and thus confirmed his second title 'Dharmaditya'. The early Guptas, it is well known, were very fond of assuming such

⁽¹⁾ Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1937-38, p. 16.

⁽²⁾ Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 24 (Sloka 586-601)

second names ending Aditya, e.g. Chandragupta II was known as Vikramāditya, Kumaragupta I as Mahendrāditya, Skandagupta as Kramāditya, Narsihagupta as Bālāditya etc. Among the Maitraka kings Šīlāditya was the first to set this fashion of assuming such second names in imitation of the early Gupta sovereigns. Though the Gupta kings styled themselves with the title "the sun of powers", showing thereby their desire for power, Siladitya took pride in calling himself a title which definitely praised 'virtue' (Sīla) more than power.

Kharagraha I 615-621 A.D.

Kharagraha the next king also called Isvaragraha (1). seems to have continued the hostilities against Harsa started in his brother's life time. It was probably in the course of this war that he issued a grant to a Brahminafrom his victorious camp at Ujjain (2). He seems to have been successful on the whole. In the stereotyped account of his achievements, written by his order and later accepted as official, he is described as one "who was covered over with with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of hundreds of kings subdued by (his) wealth of might", and again "by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for maniiness and pride, no remedy other than obeisance alone, could be successfully employed" (3). It is possible that Harsa whilst directing his major strength against Sasanka, may have sent a few troops against Kharagraha as well. This probably accounts for the fact that the latter made Ujjain his "victorious camp", i.e. his base of operations. But the Maitraka power was too firmly entrenched in Malava to allow itself to be ousted by the feeble efforts of Harsa. Moreover, the latter was at this time involved in a life and death struggle with his

⁽¹⁾ Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, p. 17. (2) Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297", Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 659 ff.

⁽³⁾ Ibid; Fleet, "Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Siladitya VII" C.I.I., III, p. 182; Gadre, "The Amreli Plates of Kharagraha I" Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, I, pp. 7 ff.

rival of Gauda. Consequently Mālava was left in the possession of the Maitrakas till about the middle of the seventh century (1), when Harşa was free to deal with the western powers.

Like his ancestors, Kharagraha was a Saivite, and is described as a "great devotee of mahesvara". He was noble-hearted, we are told, and "was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendancy over inferior people" (2). As to his personal accomplishments, we are informed that he was skilled in the use of missiles.

Kharagraha's reign was short. This is known from the fact that the last known grant of his predecessor was issued in v.s. 292 (i.e. 611 A.D.) and the only known inscription of his son and successor Dharasena III was bearing the date v.s. 304 (i.e. 623 A.D.)

In his grants Kharagraha I departed from the practice followed hitherto of mentioning officers by their designations (3). They were thenceforth mentioned in a general way - a practice which seems to have come into common usage in Western India during this period (4). Nevertheless, two officers continued to be mentioned: the Dūtaka or 'executor', who in the Virdi and Amreli grants was Śri Dharasena who suceeded him to the throne and the minister of

⁽¹⁾ Two of the Valabhi grants v.s. 320 (i.e. 639 A.D.) and v.s. 321 (i.e. 640 A.D.) were discovered at Nogāva, ten miles north of Ratlam. These grants are issued in Nawagrāma (modern Nogāwa) and Chandraputraka respectively in Mālavaka (modern Mālava). Cf. Hultzsch, "Nogāva Plates of Dhruvasena II", E.I., VIII, pp. 188 and 194 respectively.

⁽²⁾ Pleet, "Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Siladitya VII", C.I.I., III, p. 182. (3) Gadre, op. et l. (4)

⁽⁴⁾ It is interesting to observe that all the Chalukya inscriptions (copper-plates) conform to this style from the time of Pulikesin onwards.

peace and war (Sandhivigrahika) who in the same records was one Vatra Bhatti. The latter, it may incidentally be observed, appears in this capacity from v.s. 286 to v.s. 310. From the Valabhi copper-plate records it is clear that Kharagraha had two sons named Dharasena, Dhruvasena who succeeded to the throne in succession.

DHARASENA III

621 - 627 A.D.

Dharasena III succeeded his father, Kharagraha I.

He seems to have ruled for about six years only, from about

c. 621 to 627 A.D. (1).

From the only inscription of his, dated v.s. 304 (2) (i.e. 6.623 A.D.) that is known to us, it may be gathered that he was a learned man of liberal views. He was a devotee of Nahes-vara like most of the Valabhi kings. Himself learned in the sciences of his age, he greatly encouraged learning, and raised the cultural level of his kingdom.

This inscription was issued from the military camp at Khetaka. This is indeed an important circumstance in that it shows that Dharasena III came into hostile contact with some power during this period. Again, it is significant that in this record Dharasena is accorded only the epithet of parama-māhēsvara, from which it may be inferred that he was not a powerful ruler. In fact the period of his rule coincides with the great military activities of Pulikēsin II in the south and Harşavardhana in the north. But in order to determine as to which of the two paramount

(2) Diskalkar, "The Bhavanagar copper-plates dated 304", E.I., XXI, pp. 181 ff, and Watson Museum Report, 1925-26, p.14. The Gopnath plate is also taken to be of this king but the date of this plate is no known as the second part of the plate is jost (Cf.I.A.XII. p.148)

⁽¹⁾ The only known date of Kharagraha I is v·s· 297 and the first more date of Dharasena's successor Dhruvasena II is v·s· 310. From the it is clear that he did not rule for a long period. However, if account given by the A·M·M·K· is correct then only eleven moths a fortnight's reign can be attested to him.

⁽³⁾ Fleet, "The Alina Copper. plate Duscription of Silaclitya VII" C.3.9 T. p. 182

sovereigns was responsible for the dimunition of Dharasena's power, we have to go into the history of the two powers of this time. for Harsavardhana, it has been observed by Hiuen Tsiang that "he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient and after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace" (1). Did Harsa then come into conflict with the Maitrakas, in the course of his campaigns ? This possibility has to be ruled out for the simple reason that he had not as yet finished with Śaśānka, and it is but reasonable to suppose that evry ounce of his energy must have been devoted to the task of destroying him and avenging his brother's death. But as is obvious from Hiuen Tsiang's account, Harsa could hardly make any headway against his adversary, who, far from being crushed, could not even be dislodged from the part of Magadha in his occupation (2). And it is almost certain that so long as he lived Harsa was kept so fully occupied that he could think of no further campaigns elsewhere. But Sasanka must have died only a few years before Hiuen Tsiang's visit. In referring to Sasanka as the late king, the pilgrim seems to allude to this event as having happened not long time before. Moreover, the Manju-Sri-Mūla-kalpa gives Sasanka a reign of seventeen years (3) - which if

disposed of Rajyavardhana somewhere shout

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit., I, p.213. We prefer the reading of this passage as given by Beal to that of Watters for the reason that the latter's reading is obviously corrupt. As has been rightly observed by Tripathi, a victory over "five Indias" including sovereignty over the Gauda and Crissa could not have been achieved in the course of five years only. The Ganjam plates dated c. 619 A.D. show that at least till that period Sasanka was a powerful ruler in that country And again on the part of Fulikesin II who succeeded in about 609-10 A.D. it would be difficult to imagine that he could have defeated Harsa within three years of his accession, having regard to the exhausted condition of Chalukyan empire after the civil war (Cf. Tripathi, "A Note on Remark of Yuan Chwang", I.H.C., VIII p. 114). Nor could Harsa think of venturing out so far to the Vindhyas within a year or two of his accession, leaving behind a powerful enemy like Sasanka to have in the last chapter (2) Watters, op.cit., II, p. 115; Cf.Majumdar, The History of Bengal, 1 p. 65.

taken to have commenced in c. 610 A.D. (1) would make c. 627
A.D. his closing year. Furthermore, we know from inscriptional evidence that the Harsa-Maitraka conflict took place in the time of the Gurjara king Dadda II, who is said to have given shelter to a Maitraka ruler while being defeated by Harsa (2). Now the reign of this Dadda is known to have begun in about 629 A.D. or a little earlier. It is evident, therefore, that the war of Harsa with the Maitrakas could not have occurred before this date.

On the other hand, during this period the Chalukyas under their able sovereign Pulikesin II were waxing more and more powerful. The slow and steady rise of Pulikesin is well described in his Aihole prasasti (3) apparently in chronological sequence.

According to this epigraph, "when having found the opportunity, he who was named Appayika, and Govinda, approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through his armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

"When he was besieging Vanavasi, which for a girdle has the rows of hamsa birds that sport on the high waves of the Varada as their play-place, and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth

⁽¹⁾ As already pointed out in the last chapter, Sasanka must have disposed of Rajyavardhana somewhere about that period.

⁽²⁾ Bhagwanlal Indraji, "Navasari Copper-plate grants of Jayabhatta II", I.A., XIII, p. 70; Acharya, Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat", II, p. 40, No. 117, line 4.

⁽³⁾ Kielhorn, "Ailuse Duscaiphin of Pulitesin II, Salea Sainval 536," E.D.VI, PP

all round covered with the great sea of his army, to the lookeron seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

"Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Alupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by driking the nectar of close attendance upon him.

"In the konkanas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools - the Mauryas.

"When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, the besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky"

"Subdued by His splendour, the Latas, Malakas and Gurjaras (1) became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave" (2).

It will be seen from this passage that having averted by diplomacy and by force of arms, the danger that threatened him on his northern Prontiers (3) from the invasion of the two chiefs

⁽¹⁾ Another king of Gujarat who is said to have dereated Pulikesin during the course of this campaign was King Vyagramukha of the Chapotaka family who ruled in about 634 A.D. (Cf. De La Vallee Poussin, op.cit. pm.117) 140). However the writer does not give the authority of this statement. Anyway we find that in 628 A.D. the astronomer Bhahmagupta, wrote his Siddhanta at Bhinmal under king Vyaghramukha, who he states belonged to the Sri Chapa dynasty. From this reference Bhagvanlal Indraji has suggested that this Vyagramukha may probably be of the Gurjara line, and probably he was the same king who was defeated by Pulikesin in 634 A.D. This is not true because as we have already seen the Gurjara king whom Pulikesin had subdued was the Gurjara king of Broach most probably Jayabhatta I.

(2) Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II, Saka Samvat 556",

E.I., VI, pp. 9-10.

on his northern frontiers (1) from the invasion of the two chiefs Appayika and Govinda, Pulikesin II reduced, during the first series of his campaigns, the Kadambas of Banavasi who had reasserted their power during the civil war. He then won the allegiance of the Gangas and the Alupas who had been subdued in the time of his father Kirtivarman I. This may have brought him to the part of the west coast now known as South Kanara which was then ruled by the Alupas from their capital at Udyavar. Then proceeding northwards along the coasts he exterminated the Mauryas who are usually associated with Puri - a city - Chandor in the present Goa territory, and with Gharapuri or the Elephanta Island across the Bombay harbour. From there he entered the present Gujarat and Malava which brought him into conflict with the two powers between whom the sovereignty of this part of India was then divided, viz. the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas. It was probably this occasion which brought the Waitraka ruler to the southernmost part of his kingdom. As is evident from the afore-mentioned record which speaks of the victorious camp of Khetaka, he seems to have made this place his base of operations. But he was so overwhelmed by the majesty and power of Pulikesin that he and the Gurjara chief made their submission to him of their own accord (2)

Vallee Poussin, Dynasties et Histoire L'Inde Dupuis Kanishka

Jusque Aux Invasions Musulmanes, p. 140; Bombay Gazetteer, I,

pt. I, p. 267; Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,
p. 359; Buhler, "A New Grant of Dadda II", I.A., XVII, p. 197;

Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", I.A., VII,

pp. 241 ff, IX, pp. 123 ff.

⁽¹⁾ Govinda according to Dr. Bhandarkar was a Rastrakuta chief and Appayika may perhaps be taken to be a successor of Nirihullaka on phonetic resemblance as suggested by Prof. Moraes (Cf. Moraes, "Pre-Madamba History of Goa", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, V Session, p. 168)

And thereafter they "behaved (themselves) so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force." As the Aihole inscription puts it "subdued by His splendour the Lāṭas, Mālavās and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force ought to behave" (1). Since the inscription of Dharasena is dated v.s. 304 (c. 623 A.D.) this event may be said to have taken place about this time. Thereafter for a considerable time the Maitrakas continued to acknowledge the Chālukyan overlordship and their feudatory status is attested by the fact that the old title of Mahārāja was not revived in the Maitraka house during the reign of Dhruvasena II, the successor of the present monarch. And indeed, how could they bear this title when their leigh-lord Pulikesin remained contented with the same biruda?

A corroboration of the events related in the Aihole prasasti is perhaps found in the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja which discloses the existence at this time of a feudatory branch of the Chālukya family in Gujarāt (2). The genealogy in this record commences with a Chālukya prince named Jayasimharāja. His son was Rāja-Buddhavarman, to whom are accorded the epithet of Vallabha

(2) Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", I.A., VII, pp. 241 ff; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 102; Vallet Poussin, op. et loc. cit.

⁽¹⁾ Kielhorn, op.cit., p. 10, line 22. It will be noticed that the countries comprised in the dominions of the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras are separately mentioned in the record; the reason for this seems to be that though at this time they had come under the rule of these two powers the Lapas and the Mālavas, were famous people when they were in enjoyment of independent existence. The separate mention of these peoples would besides serve the aims of a prasasti which is to extoll the achievements of the subject thereof.

and the biruda of 'Ranavikranta', while the donor of the grant which was issued on the 9th of April 643 A.D. was the son of the latter. It is possible that after the successful campaign through Gujarat and Malava Pulikesin II appointed Jayasimha, or his son Buddhavarman, as his viceroy. It is significant that the grant was found at Kaira, the ancient Khetaka, from where, it will be remembered, the grant of Dharasena III had also been issued.

The prosperity of the country during Dharasena's rule is attested by the fact that a temple dedicated to the goddess Sankarika (i.e. Bhavani) was built by the villagers at their own expense1.

The dutaka of Dharasena III's inscription was the prince samanta Sidaditya, and the writer was Vatrabhatti who was the chief secretary and the minister of peace and war in this reign.

The Manjusri-Mula-Kalpa mentions one 'Chapala' as the successor of Siladitya. This 'Chapala' is identified by Jayaswal with Kharagraha and the details in the account of Chapala's character are applied to Kharagraha, the younger brother of Siladitya who had succeeded him to the Valabhi throne. We, however, propose to identify Chapala not with Kharagraha but with Dharasena II, the successor of the latter. The AMMK described this passage as: "After the passing away of Sila, xxxx there will be Chapala. He will rule for eleven months and a half. Then he will be killed by some soldiers in consequence of his lust for women and go to hell," " and further, "next will come his younger brother Dhruva by

Diskalkar, op.et loc. cit.
 Jayaswal, op.cit.p. 24.

The passage, just referred to, however, involves the omission of one king between Sila (Siladitya I) and Dhruvasena II)2. For in fact, two kings viz. Kharagraha I and Dharasena III actually intervened, while the A.M.M.K. gives an account of only one, viz. Capala. It is, therefore, certain that one of these two intervening kings is omitted here and hence the name occurring in the passage may be applied to either of the two, i.e. it may as well apply to Dharasena III as to Kharagraha I. It must be admitted nonetheless, that the word 'Chapala' hardly bears any affinity with either of the names 'Khara' or 'Dhara'. If, however, Chapala is at all to be identified with either, it should rather be with Dharasena III than with Kharagraha I. In the first place the work does not make it clear that Chapala was the immediate successor of Sila. What it says is simply that after Sila there will be one Chapala. Secondly 'Dhruva' is represented as anuja of Chapala (i.e. younger brother). According to this relationship Chapala has to be definitely identified with Dharasena III, the elder brother of Dhruvasena II unless we agree with Jayaswal's farfetched interpretation of the word anuj as a younger cadet (and

^{1.} शीलस्ये ज्यते पृत्ते चयलस्तत्र भावष्यति । पषिषयतमेकं तु पन्यमासं तथेवतु । राज्येकृत्वा विभिन्ने इसी शामिभः॥६००॥ स्रीकृतेमेव दोवेण शामि

Dr. Jayaswal has translated the first half of the line and given six and a half months reign to Chapala which appears to be a mistake. It should be eleven and a half months.

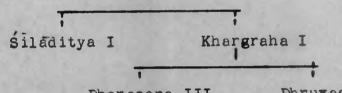
^{2.} Cf. Fleet, C.I.I., III, pp. 171 ff. According to the geneology given to the Valabhi grants:

⁽⁸⁾ Siladitya

⁽⁹⁾ Kharagraha I

⁽¹⁰⁾Dharasena III (11) Dhruvasena II

not younger brother 1. Then again in moral character Kharagraha I is represented in the Valabhi records as far superior to Dharasena III, who was more a man of learning, than a man of Character. It is rather strange to suppose that a king who is said to have "forcibly destroyed all the specimes procedure of (this wicked) Kali age "2 might meet his death at the hands of soldiers, in consequence of his lust of women. Hence the identify of the 'Chapala' of the A.M.M.K. with Dharasena III, seems to be more correct than that with Kharagraha I as Dr. Jayaswal has suggested 3.



Dharasena III

Dhruvasena II

^{1.} Jayaswal, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Cf. Fleet, op.cit., p. 182.

Dhruvasena II, Baladitya

627 - 641 A.D.

On the death of Dharasena III his younger brother

Dhruvasena II ascended the throne of Valabhi. He was well-known
as Bālāditya, the 'rising Sun' because of the great affection

which he bore towards his subjects, an affection which they
gladly reciprocated (1).

In all about seven copper-plate grants of this king are known, the earliest being dated v.s. 310 (2) (i.e. e. 629 A.D.), and the last is v.s. 321 (3) (i.e. e. 640 A.D.). All his records attribute to him proficiency in arts generally, and mastery of the calebrated grammar of Pāṇiṇi, also known as Śālāturiya (4), and of the science of polity. He is compared to Manu, because like him he was about to kingship by his subjects for his sterling merits (5). He was a loyal friend; but this did not deter him from giving up those who were found guilty of moral turpitude. This description is similar to that of Dilipa (6) given by Kālidāsa king Dilpa is said to have in his Raghuvamsa, where he severed his connection with even a dear person if he found him to be wicked, as one cuts off a snake-bitten finger. But according to Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Valabhi

(6) Raghuvamsa, Canto I, verse 28.

⁽¹⁾ Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, p. 16.

⁽²⁾ Acharya, op. cit. No. 63. (3) Ibid. No. 69; Hultzsch, "The Nogava Plates", E.I., VIII, pp.192 fr

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid.
(5) Ibid. Fleet, spectfor it

⁽A) His famous second name of Baliditya was established as one of appropriate meaning through the (whole) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (his) hising!

at this time (1), he was of "a lively and hasty disposition and his wisdom and statecraft were shallow". Hiven Tsiang further states that "quite recently he had attached himself sincerely to big the Buddha, Dharma 4 Songha faith in the three precious ones" (2). His esteem for Buddhism is evident from the grants he made to the Buddhist Viharas. In v.s. 310 (i.e. c. 629 A.D.) he made a donation to a monastery built by Gohaka and which was itself a part of the celebrated Dudda Vihara, viz. the Vihara founded by the Maitraka princes Dudda at Valabhi. Nine years later, in the year v.s. 319 (3) (i.e. c. 638 A.D.) he donated certain villages for the Bhikkhunnis residing in the Vihara built by one Punnabhata at Valabhi, near Yakşasura Vihara. But this should not be understood to mean that he converted himself to the faith of the Buddha, for in all his inscriptions he styles himself paramamahesvara. The fact seems to have been that like his ancestors Dhruvasena also was of a tolerant disposition, and viewed all religions with equal favour. Accordingly we find him making donations to Buddhists no less than to Hindu institutions. In v.s. 320 (i.e. c. 639A.D.) he renewed a grant to the Hindu temple of Kottammhikadevi made by his ancestor Maharaja Dronasimha, which appears to have become null in the interim. This

⁽¹⁾ Fleet has rightly suggested that Hiuen Tsiang visited Valabhi in Dhruvasena II's reign and not in Siladitya VII's reign as suggested by others. Cf. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p. 40 (Introduction) The name of the ruling king as given by Hiuen Tsiang is Dhruvapatu (Tu-lo-po-po-tu) or Dhruvabhatta (Tulopopota) who is identified with Dhruvasena II. Cf. Burgess, A.S.W.I. XI, p. 82.

⁽²⁾ Beal, op. cit. II, p. 267. (3) Acharya, op. cit. No. 66.

might either refer to the grant of Dronasimha, made in the year v.s. 183 (i.e. c. 502 A.D.) where, however, the name of the goddess is Pāndurāja, or it might refer to some other gift which is not known to us. Similarly, there are grants which he made to individual Brāhmanas. In v.s. 320 and v.s. 321 (i.e. c. 639-640 A.D.) he made over to them some villages in Mālavā.

In referring to the achievements of Dadda II the Gurgara records of a later date aver that he gave protection to "the lord of Valabhi, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harsadeva" (1). The inscription, however, does not make it clear who this Valabhi king was. Dadda, it may be concluded from his inscriptions which are spread over the period from 629-641 A.D. ruled from 629 A.D. (2), and was thus a contemporary of the two Maitraka rulers Dhruvasena II and Dharasena IV. Was it the former or the latter that was helped by the Gurjara monarch? Unfortunately no original authority clears this point. The question is further complicated by the information of Hiuen Tsiang that Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Sīlādibya, was also the son-in-law of Harsa (3)

(3) Natters, op.cit. II, p. 246; Beal, op.cit. II, p. 267. Beal's translation of this passage as "son-in-law of the son of Siladitys....etc". is obviously wrong. It is well known that Harsa had no male issue. Watter's translation, therefore, is preferable, and is followed here. It may also be noted that M.Julien (Vol.I, p. 206), in his French translation of Hiuen Tsiang, agrees with Watter's translation of this padsage.

⁽¹⁾ Buhler, op. et loc. cit.

Jayabhata I Vitaraga
Dadda II Frasantaraja c. 628-650 A.D. (K. 380,385,391)
Jayabhatta II c. 650-670 A.D.
Dadda III c. 670-690 A.D. (K. 456)
Jayabhatta III c. 690-710 (K. 456)
Ahirola c. 710-730 A.D.
Jayabhatta IV c. 730-750 A.D. (K. 486)
Three plates of Dadda II dates Saka 400, 415 and 417 have been left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious. This geneological table is according to Mirashi.
"A Note on the Prince of Wales Plates of Jayabhatta (III?)",
E. I., XXIV, p. 178 ff. and it appears to be mora accurate. App. F

(3) Watters, op.cit. II, p. 246: Beal. op.cit. II, p. 267. Beals

The clash of arms, however, between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas is easily explained. So long as Sasanka lived he could not think of retreaving the province of Malava which ought to have gone to the Vardhanas as a result of the victory of Rajyavardhana over Devagupta, but of which they had been baulked by the interference of the Maitrakas (1). As has been seen in the last chapter, the death of Sasanka in or about 627 A.D. was followed by a period of confusion. As the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa says: "After the death of Soma (Sasanka) the Gauda political system (Gaudatantra) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons, and mutual jealousy - one (king) for a week, another for a month. - - "(2). Thus freed from the fear of attack from the eastern frontier, Harsa must have thought of attempting to wrest Malava from the Valabhi king. The attack on the Vallabhi kingdom must have occurred about 632 A.D. (3), a view which seems to be confirmed by the gap in Dhamesena's records from 313 to 319 (i.e. 632 to 638 A.D.), a period which is probably filled with the counter offensive of Dhruvasena. For it will be noticed that the records are fairly constant before 632 A.D. and after 638 A.D. (4).

At the time we are speaking of, Harsa's empire seems to have embraced the whole Gangetic valley from Thanesvara to Magadha (5)

⁽¹⁾ While admitting that the war between Harsa and the Maitraka king was due to the addition of Malava to the kingdom of the latter, Dr. Sankalia asserts that the kingdom was annexed by Dhruvasena II The latter statement is not correct, as has already been proved in the chapter on Siladitya I. The Virdi plates of Kharagraha I dated 616 A.D. were actually issued from Ujjain.

⁽²⁾ Jayaswal, op.cit. pp. 50-51.

⁽³⁾ The inscription of v.s. 313 is dated in the month of Śrāvan. Since the campaigns were generally undertaken after the Dasara festival (after the rainy season) in the month of Asvin, the invasion of Harsa must have taken place two months after this grant was made.

⁽⁴⁾ See Appendicu B; F.

⁽⁵⁾ Mazumdar, "The Extent of Harsa's Empire", I.H.Q.,V, p. 229.

It is no wonder then that when the resources of the vast empire were directed against him the Maitraka sovereign was all but crushed, and in a short time obliged to flee to the court of his Gurjara neighbour Dadda II (1). In this campaign Harsa followed the same course as that pursued by his famous Maukhari predecessor Isvaravarman against a former Maitraka king Guhasena (2). Presumably the Kanykubja legions at first entered Malava, and swept across this ancient kingdom as far as the gates of Valabhi.

Why did Dhruvasena seek refuge at the court of Dadda II ? Broach after all was a small power, nothing in fact as compared to Valabhi, and therefore admittedly not in a position to resist effectively 'the lord of Northern India'. This point, so important for an understanding of the alignment of the powers of the time, was entirely ignored by earlier writers, though they realised the absurdity of such a claim. Writing in 1888 Bühler in his sketch of the Gurjara history sought to explain away the contradiction with the following explanation: "He (Harsa) directed his attack, as a matter of course, against Valabhi, the largest and the most powerful state in Gujarat, and defeated its ruler Dhruvasena II. Dhruvasena fled after his defeat to Broach and was sheltered by Dadda IV. From his place of refuge he made his peace with and his submission to his great foe, and was restored to his throne as a feudatory of the latter. The peace was cemented, as has happened in many similar cases by a marriage of Dhruvasena with Sri Harsa's grand-daughter (daughter). With this supposition, the magnitude of Dadda's feat

⁽¹⁾ Buhler, op. et loc. cit. (2) Fleet, "Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Isvaravarman", C.I.I. III,

is somewhat reduced, but it loses the appearance of absurdity which it has at first sight" (1). Ettinghausen, in his Harşavardhana closely followed Bühler's explanation, but was apparantly not satisfied as to "Way the king of Broach, in welcoming Dhruvasena II could think of resisting Harsa". He, therefore, ventured to suggest that Broach probably "called on Pulikesin II, the Chalukya king of Maharastra and emperor of the south", who wished to contest with Harsa the title to Indian paramountcy (2). But it was not clear to this scholar, writing in the early days of Indian Historical research, the reason why Pulikesin II at all allowed himself to be drawn into this conflict. Even Dr. Altekar, in his attempt to solve this puzzle, only suggests that the cause of conflict between the two powers must have arisen on account of their clashing imperialistic ambitions in Gujarat and Malava (3). From the foregoing account of the relations of the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas on the one hand and Pulikesin II on the other, it is now evident that when Harsa invaded the dominions of Valabhi and was on the point of overrunning Broach as well, Pulikesin, as the overlord of therse two powers, could not but come to their rescue. It is thus clear that in fleeing to the court of Dadda, Dhruvasena was taking the only course that was open to him, a very simple fact which in the course of seven decades was magnified into seeking an asylum at the Gurjara court.

⁽¹⁾ Bühler, " A New Grant of Dadda II", I.A., XVII, p. 196.

⁽²⁾ Ettinghausen, Harsavardhana, p. 40.
(3) Altekar distinguishes between the king of Valabhi and the ruler of Mālava (Cf. op. et loc. cit.). This is obviously a mistake. It need not be repeated that Mālava at this time formed a part of the Valabhi kingdom.

The course of this war is nowhere described in the extant documents. While Hiuen Tsiang merely observes that among the countries invaded by Harsa Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Maharastra) alone "nefused to become subject to him" (1). The Aihole prasasti celebrates the ultimate victory of Pulikesin II in a verse which has since become memorable: "Harsa, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (Harsha) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle" (2). It may be concluded from this that the result of this war was disappointing to Harsa, and does not justify Dr. Mookerhi's (3) conclusion that his campaign in western India seems to have resulted in the submission to his suzerainty of a few other states like these of Anandapura, Kita (Cutch) and Su-la-cha (Surat)"(4), though it is true that on the eve of Hiuen Tsiang's visit they really were dependencies of (Malava) "Mo-la-po", or rather Valabhi, which had then acknowledged Harsa's suzerainty. On the contrary the grandiloquent description of the Aihole prasasti would suggest a complete victory of Pulikesin over his great northern adversary. And if this is undoubted the victory must have been followed by the restoration of the Valabhi

⁽¹⁾ Watters, op.cit. II, p. 239; Beal, op.cit. II, p. 259.

⁽²⁾ Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II", E.I., VI, p.10.
(3) Mookerji, Harsa, p. 31.

⁽³⁾ Mookerji, Harsa, p. 31.

(4) We are inclined to accept Beal's (Vol.II, p. 268) identification of Su-la-cha with Saurastra, which is supported by Julien, rather than with Surat, as Watters (II, p. 248) would have it; for the reason that the Gurjaras in whose kingdom Surat was presumably included, are not known in the account of Hiuen Tsiang, or the inscriptional evidence to have acknowledged the supremacy of Valabhi at this time.

king Dhruvasena to his ancestral kingdom, consequent on the repulse of Harsa from the Valabhi dominions. But the war thought it came to a close, so far as Pulikesin was concerned, soon after the repulse of Harsa, in the course of the year, was probably continued on the cutskirts of Mālava for a few years more between Dhruvasena and Harsa - a troubled period thus accounting for the absence of state-grants down to 638 A.D. (1).

Harşa now realised that no headway would be possible against his formidable adversary of the south, so long as the rival political system continued intact. Consequently, he seems to have attempted to wean the Valabhi ruler from his allegiance to the Chālukyas. The bait of a matrimonial alliance was held out (2) and Dhruvasena II succumbed in a moment of weakness (3). The embroilment of the Chālukyas with the Fallavas, at this time may also have led Dhruvasena II to decide on the step. Dhruvasena exchanging one overlord for another, thus became a subordinate ally of his father-in-law. This seems to be the only rational explanation of the changed relations between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas. The alliance continued till the last days of the two monarchs, and we have it on the authority of Hiuen Tsiang that at the quinquennial assembly or the Moksaparisada convoked by Harşa

⁽¹⁾ Vide Appendix F

⁽²⁾ Beal, op.cit. II, p. 269; Watters, op.cit. II, po. 242-244.

(3) The conversion of Dhruvasena II as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is believed to have been connected to his marriage with Harsa's daughter, who if he was not a Buddhist had none the less certain predilection for that faith. Hiuen Tsiang says "the king of Valabhi was devoted to Buddhism very recently", this statement possibly shows that indirectly the submission and marriage of the Valabhi king must have taken place a short time before Hiuen Tsiang's visit in 640 A.D. Cf. Vaidya, op.cit. I, p. 247; Delayalee Poussin, op.cit. p. 147; Sankalia, op.cit. p. 17.

at Prayaga (Allahabad), the king of Valabhi guarded the "arena of charity" at the west of the confluence (1), while the king of Assam, another subordinate ally of Harsa, was employed by him on the south of the Yamuna river

An idea of the extent of the Valabhi kingdom is obtained from the Nogawa plates of v.s.320 (2) and v.s. 321 (3) (i.e. 639 and 640 A.D. respectively). It would appear that it extended on the east upto the Ratlam state, 35 miles to the west of Ujjain, which would imply that all the intermediate territories between we Valabhi and Ratlam were under the sway of Dhruvasena II. The whole of northern and central Gujarat may thus be said to have formed part of the Valabhi kingdom.

In spite of all these military activities in the country the greatness of the capital and the prosperity and culture of its citizens at this time is testified to by Hiuen Tsiang. He says: "its circumference was six miles and population is numerous and wealthy. There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million. The rarest merchandise from distant countries is found there in abundance. The caste system prevailed but was devoid of the rigidity associated with it in later times" (4).

The Valabhi grants eulogise Dhruvasena II as a man of virtue and of great learning. He is said to have "surpassed all previous kings" by his noble character (5). He is represented as

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit. 8. 185. (A) 35.d (2) Hultzsch, E.I., VIII, p. 194. (3) Ibid. p. 196; A.S.I., 1902-03, p. 235. (4) Beal, op. et loc. cit; Watters, op. et loc. cit.

⁽⁵⁾ Fleet, G.I.I., III, p. 182.

The dutaka in the earlier grants is Sāmanta Śīlāditya, who should be identified with prince Śīlāditya the son of Derabhatta of the Vindhya region. He officiated as the dutaka upto v.s. 319 (i.e. c. 638 A.D.). The dutaka in the later grants is the prince Kharagraha (II), the younger brother of this Śīlāditya. That he succeeded to the Valabhī throne after Dhruvasena III will be seen in the following chapters. The Lēkhaka in the early grants of Dhruvasena II was Vatrabhatti. Later on in about v.s. 314 (i.e. 633 A.D.) a son of the latter named Skandabhata, the Dīvirapati officiated in his place as lēkhaka.

Dharasena IV

641 - 650 A.D.

The twelth ruler of the Maitraka dynasty was Sri Dharasena IV. He was the son and successor of Dhruvasena II, who, as we have seen, was the son-in-law of Harsavardhana of Kanauj (1).

Dharasena was the most powerful of the monarchs of Valabhi. He was called Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja, Paramēsvara Chakravartin Srī Ajjakapādānudhyāta Srī Dharasena (2). Alone among the Maitrakas of Valabhi, he assumed the imperial style of Chakravartin (3). The mention of this higher title requires explanation and confirmation. Was this merely an ornamental appellation or was it founded on fact ?

It is significant that the reign of this monarch as may be deduced from the last known date of his father, viz. v.s. 321 (4) (i.e. c. 640 A.D.) and his own extent records which give dates ranging from v.s. 326 (5) to v.s. 330 (6) (i.e. 645-649 A.D.), coincide with the dark period in the history of the Chalukyas. It

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit. II, p. 267.

⁽²⁾ Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., Ip pp. 14 ff; Bühler, "Additional Valabhi Grant", I.A., VII, pp. 73 ff; Bühler, "Valabhi Inscriptions", I.A., XV, pp. 339 ff.

(3) The title Chakravartin is explained by Monier Williams in his

Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning "a ruler, the wheels (chakra) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction", or "the ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea". Another explanation is given in the Visnu purana Book I. Ch. XIII, verse 46, viz. "a discuss (chakra) the sign of (the god) Visnu (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all Chakravartins (and such a muler is one) whose powers cannot be withstood even by (and such a ruler is one) whose powers cannot be withstood even by the gods". The word Chakravartin denotes an universal ruler and is one of the techinical titles of Paramount sovereigns, though it is not of such frequent occurence as the others are such as Mahārāja etc.

⁽⁴⁾ Hultzsch, op.cit. E.I., VIII, p. 194; Acharya, op.cit. No. 69.

⁽⁵⁾ Bhandarkar, op.cit. I, p. 45; Acharya, op.cit. No. 70. (6) Bühler, op.cit. XV, p. 335; Acharya, op.cit. No. 73.

is well known that the reign of Pulikesin II ended in disaster in or about the year 642 A.D. (1); and that it took no fewer than twelve years for his successor to restore the Chalukyan power to its pristine greatness. The misfortune of the imperial Chalukyas was a signal for their satraps to attempt to make themselves independent of the centre. Thus from the fact that Vijayaraja, who in the heyday of their power could have been no more than a governor in charge of the northern province of Southern Gujarat, makes no reference at all in his Kaira grant of 643 A.D. (2) to the paramount line, it has been assumed that he renounced or was on the point of renouncing allegiance to Badami at this period (3). The confusion reigning in the Chalukya empire was doubtless availed of by the new and ambitious Maitraka king to aggrandise himself at their expense. It is worthy of note that in 649 A.D. (4), Dharasena issued two grants from what he calls "his victorious camp at Broach". Broach, as we know, was an important town of the Gurjaras, the feudatories of the Chalukyas. Now for a power that had lately abandoned the Chalukyan-Gurjara political system, and joined the hostile system of the Puspabhutis to have issued grants from Broach, thus city must have been wrested from its old masters by the Maitrakas after overrunning their kingdom. Since the inscriptions make no mention of Harsa, it

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 359.
(2) Fleet, "The Kheda Grant of Vijayaraja", I.A., VII, p. 241; Acharya, op.cit. No. 102.

⁽³⁾ Fleet, op. cit. p. 360.
(4) Bühler, op. et loc. cit; Acharya, op. cit. Nos. 72 and 73;

may be taken for granted that the war against the Gurjaras was waged by the Maitrakas on their own account and not at the command of any suzerain power. If this be so, the position of Dharasena IV in relation to Kanauj could not have been that of an ordinary vassal. The higher status of this Maitraka ruler is further shown by the fact that he had a number of samantas under him, his has a said to have been 'treated by the circle of Samantas as the crest-jewels worn on the head'.

But when did Dhærasena assume imperial status? We have four of the copper-plate grants giving dates ranging from v.s. 326 to v.s. 330 (i.e. 645-649 A.D.). From the fact that the last known date of his father Dhruvasena II is v.s. 321 and the first available inscription of his successor Dhruvasena III is recorded in v.s. 332 (1), it may be concluded that Dharasena IV ruled for about eight years, v.s. 322-23, being his first regnal year. In his very first grant issued in the year v.s. 326 (i.e. 645-6 A.D.) he boldly flaunts the imperial title of Chakravartin (2). It follows from this that the imperial title was assumed by him before he invaded southern Gujarāt - the invasion itself being probably due to the refusal of the Gurjara sovereign to acknowledge his supremacy.

⁽¹⁾ Vide Bombay Gazetteer, I, p. 92.

⁽²⁾ Dr Jayaswal states that Dharasena IV is not Chakravartin in Magha of v.e. 326, while he bears that the title in Asadha of the same year. Then he has supposed that Dharasena IV assumed this title between Magha and Asadha of V.E. 326, when Harsa would have died. The grant of Magha, however, does mention that he claimed as high a status as the Chakravartin. This is evident from the phrase he was 'the universal sovereign (Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, p. 45)

It has been suggested that Dharasena assumed imperial title by virtue of the fact that he was the grandson of Harsa, who had died without an heir (1) - a claim which is said to have been supported by the Manju-Bri-Mula-Kalpa. And it is also contended that the intial letter 'Dh' of the successor of Harsa (2) as given in this work is really the initial letter of Dharasena IV, described therein as the anuja or descendant of Harsa. But there are serious difficulties militating against this theory. For one thing it is by no means clear that Dharasena was the son of Harsa's daughter (3). For if the marriage took place between 638 and 640 A.D. (4) he must have still been a minor or a mere child incapable of the achievements with which he is credited (5)

Like other members of his line Dharasena was also distinguished for his charities. In his grant of the year 326 (645 A.D.) he donated a piece of land for the upkeep of a vihara and for the repair of a reservoir in the vicinity. Both of these had been originally gifts of the minister Skandabhata. It may be noted that the Bhikkhus who resided in this Vihara were of Mahayana sect of Buddhism (6). In the same year he issued to a Brahmana endowment amounting to 182 padavartas of land (7). There are two more grants made to various Brahmanas learned in the Vedas. The first one of 1) Ray, op. et loc. cit; Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 67; Parikha, op.cit.

p. XLIII (2) Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 67.

⁽³⁾ That the Valabhi kings married more than one gives is clear from Hiuen Tsiang's account of Siladitya I (Beal, Tife) p. III) and it will not be wrong to suppose that Dharasena IV was Dhruvasena's son by another wife.

⁽⁴⁾ The war between Valabhi and Kanauj must have ended, as we have supposed in c. 638 A.D. and axxiarxatxxxxxxxxxxx visit of Hiuen Tsiang who described Dhruvasena as Harsa's son-in-law took place in or a little here 640 A.D.

⁽⁵⁾ See Appendix dy: Vajrata or the 'Va' of the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa. 9 (6) Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, p. 45. (7) Ibid. p. 14; Acharya, op.cit. No. 71.

the year 330 (i.e. c. 649 A.D.) was made to a Brāhmaņa hailing from Ānarttapura. This was issued together with another of the same date from the royal camp at Bharukachchha, i.e. modern Broach. The dūtaka in the two grants of 326 is Kumāra Dhruvasena, while in those of 330 it is Rājaduhita (i.e. a princess) Bhūpā (or Bhūvā).

It is clear from his records that the royal treasury was fully replenished at the time of Dharasena IV, for he is said to have made great donations. This is expressed by the phrase:
'the lotus-like palm of his hand is (always) washed by the water (poured during the acts) of gifts'. His liberality is further made clear from the fact that he reduced taxation as seen from his description that he "intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes (kara)" (1) It is well known from the description of his predecessors that they had made liberal donations either to individuals or to private institutions. But he showed greater liberality and delighted the hearts of all his people indiscriminately by reducing taxes on them.

Two attributes of the emperor may be noted: "the learning he had received through his ears is represented as splendid as his ear-ornaments; the other epithet 'Karmuka-Dhanurveda' would imply his mastery of the science of archery. Given these attributes it was natural that Dharasena should have been a patron of scholars. It was probably in the reign of this emperor that Bhatti (2), the

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, "Alina Copper Plate Inscription of Siladitya VII", C.I.I., III, p. 183.

⁽²⁾ In the colophon it is said: काट्यां मर्व रचित मदा बल भूमरे भी वासे वाते के पार भी वासे वाते के पार भी वासे वाते के पार भी विद्या अवता काट्यां मर्व अवता काट्यां मर्य अवता

author of the Rāvanavadha, well-known as the Bhattikāvya, flourished and actually wrote his work under the patronage of Dharasena IV (1). This work is a grammatical poem composed with the object of illustrating Pānini's and the Kaumudi's sūtras and was long regarded as an authority on question of grammar (2). The list of Alamkāras given by Bhatti is in a certain measure original when compared with those of Dandin and Bhāmaha. Its source is still ūnknown. It is said of this poem that "it is a lamp in the hands of those whose eye is grammar, but a mirror in the hands of the blind for others"(3).

King Dharasena Iv seems to have left no male issue to succeed him to the Valabhi throne. Hence the succession passed to Derabhatta's line. The eldest son of the latter officiated as a dutaka of Valabhi grant as long as v.s. 319 (638 A.D.) during the reign of Dhruvasena II, This must have happened during the minority of the prince Dharasena IV. Thereafter his younger brother Kharagraha II appeared as dutaka for some years. From this it may be inferred that Siladitya must have expired before Dhruvasena II and when Dharasena IV was not old enough to shoulder the responsibility of this important office. However, as we have seen above, Dharasena IV succeeded to the Valabhi throne after his father's death. He selected the youngest of his cousins Dhruvasena III as dutaka of his grants, and subsequently, as his successor to the Valabhi throne. This is an instance to show that the Maitraka kings used to select their successors.

"वीपतुल्मः प्रबन्धोऽर्धे भावत् अभागवासुमामः। इस्तामक द्वान्द्वानां भवते व्याकत्रणाहने ॥३३॥ भारतिम् भारतिम् विकासिक्षेत्रे विरामित्रे ।।३३॥

⁽¹⁾ In the colophon the author says that he wrote this poem at the court of king Dharasena. of Valabhi. But it is not known of which of the four rulers of this name he was a contemporary. If he were the same Bhatti Bhata of Mahichchhaka who received a grant from Dhruvasena III in v.s. 334 as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch ("Notes on Idioms", J.V.O.I., I, p. 139) he would naturally be the same poet patronised by Dhanasena IV whose known dates are v.s. 325 - 330.

(3) Bhattikāvya, Vol. II, verse 33, p. 310.

DHRUVASENA III 650 - 654-55 A.D.

branch of the Maitrakas, the line of Siladitya I, who was a brother of Dharasena's grandfather, Kharagraha I. Dharasena IV seems to have left no male issue and hence was succeeded by Dhruvasena III, son of Derabhatta and grandson of Siladitya, Dharmaditya. He was probably in charge of a district near the Vindhya mountains, the erstwhile conquest of Derabhatta, his father, and succeeded as Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhi.

Three of his copper-plate grants are found. Two are dated respectively in V.S. 332, and V.S. 3343, while the third one is undated. The first one records the grant of a village of Pedhapada in Vamansthali, the modern Vanthali in the Navanagar state. The beneficiary of the second grant V.S. 334 (i.e. c. 653 A.D.), was Bhattibhata, who was a son of Bappa and a resident of Mahichchhaka. We are tempted to guess that this Bhatti was the same man who wrote the Bhattikavya. The other

^{1.} Mention of princess Bhupa (or Bhuva), probably Dharasena's daughter in the capacity of a dutaka of his grant confirms the view that Dharasena had no male issue. Generally in Valabhi records the heir-apparent is found in the office of dutaka. For some time Dharasena IV may not have decided as to whom the throne should be entrusted after him - to his daughter or cousin, but finally, however, he seems to have decided to give it to the youngest of his three cousins.

2. Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 92.

^{3.} Hultzsch, op.cit., E.I., I, p. 85; Acharya, op.cit., No. 74.

^{4.} Diskalkar, op.cit., J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.), I, p. 35; Acharya, op.cit., No. 75.

grant is a Buddhist grant donated to the famous Duddavihara in the <u>Svatala</u> of Valabhi. A village named Raksasaka included in Kasahrda was granted for maintenance of the inmates of the monastery. The last known record of Dharasena IV is dated V.S. 330^{1} and the first known date of Kharagraha II who succeeded Dhruvasena III is V.S. 337^{2} . From this account Dhruvasena's reign may be taken to be of about four or five years duration.

The Maitrakas, it would seem, did not or could not continue the grandiloquant titles such as Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja, Paramasawar, Chakravartin etc. They are definitely dropped by Dhruvasena who was content to bear the old religious title of the family - Paramamahasvara. Now this loss of the former imperial titles obviously indicates a diminution of their power - a circumstance which coincides with the military activities of Pulikesin II's son Vikramaditya I. Of him the records say that "he (Vikramaditya I) conquered in many battles, by means of his horse of the bread called Chitrakantha, and with the edge of his sword; that he "acquired for himself the (regal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confedatacy of three

^{1.} Buhler, <u>I.A.</u>, XV, p. 339; Acharya, op.cit., No. 73.

^{2.} Buhler, op.cit., (I.A.) VIII, p. 76; Acharya, op.cit., No. 76.

^{3.} It may also be argued that the title Chakravartin may be assumed by the conqueror himself and it could not be heriditary one. Any way even the omission of other imperial titles also signify that Dhruvasena could not retain the status acquired by Dharasena IV.

kings, and then made a burden of the whole kingdom to be prosided over by one (sole monarch)", that he "confirmed the grants to gods and Brahmanas, which had been confiscated under (those same) three kings and that he conquered the hostile kings in country after country, and reacquired the (regal) fortune of his ancestors. "It seems certain that he came into hostile contact with the Maitrakas also, since the latter, as we have seen, had encroched on the Chalukyan territory in the days of their misfortune. An inscription of Dhrusena III of 653 A.D. referring to his 'victorious camp at Sirisimminika, seems to point to a struggle with a hostile power at about this time. This power could have been none other than the Chalukyas, who, as the assumption of lower titles by the present Maitraka ruler would show, emerged victorious from the struggle, and as a result retrieved their dominions in Southern Gujarat. In fact in c. 655 A.D. we have a Chalukya governor, the Sendraka prince Allasakti, Prithivivallabha making a grant of the village Balisa which is identified with Wanesa in the Bardoli taluka of the Surat district. 2 precisely the territory which was the charge of Vijayaraja, the Chalukya governor of Pulikesi's time, 3 for the villages mentioned in his Kaira grant are all to be found in the same (Surat)

^{1.} Fleet, "Five Copper-plate Grants of the Western-Chalukya Dynasty, from the Karnul District," J.B.B.R.A.S., XVI.p. 226; cf. Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 361.

^{2.} Buhler, "Bagumra Grant", I.A., XVIII, p. 266.

^{3.} Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 359.

District. No wonder for the nonce the grants fail to wax eloquent on the achievements of the Maitraka ruler. The reason is patent: his reign was inglorious. He is given the conventional praise that his "ears had been adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds." It is highly as probable that the Gutjaras appearing in the baggage train of the Chalukyas were restored to their principality in Northern Gujarat.

^{1.} In his well-written article "New Light on the History of Mediaeval Gujarat," Professor Mirashi (Bhandarkar's Vol. p. 53) observes that Southern Gujarat was placed by Pulikesin II under the Sendrakas after overthrowing the Kalachuris. His only reason seems to be that the Bagumra plates of the Sendraka prince Allasakti gives a short geneology of his line beginning with his grandfather Bhanusakti. From which he concludes that Southern Gujarat was ruled by the Sendrakas for three generations, Bhanusakti, being the first ruler. It must, however, be observed that the mention of his ancestor by Allasakti is no indication that these had ruled over the territory under his charge - a supposition which as pointed out above is disproved by the fact that in 643 A.D. this very same territory was under the Chalukya Vijayaraja.

Kharagraha II 655 - 658 A.D.

Kharagraha II like Siladitya I had a biruda Dharamaditya. It is strange that he succeded his younger brother ('1) Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhi.

From the fact that the records of Kharagraha II make less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III it has been suggested by the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer that Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from his younger brother (2). Be that as it may, the circumstance of the succession passing from the younger to the elder is rather suspicious and may perhaps show that it was not accomplished in a peaceful manner. However, it is more plausible that Dhruvasena went under in the struggle with the Chalukyas, and was thereafter succeeded by Kharagraha. And the fact that the latter betrays less respect for him in the record may possibly be due to this circumstance along with the fact that he being the elder brother of Dhruvasena III may not have paid respect to his younger brother in the usual manner.

⁽¹⁾ Dharasena IV entrusted the Valabhi kingdom to Dhruvasena III (youngest of the three cousins) probably because he was the cleverest of the three brothers. After Dhruvasena III, his elder brother Kharagraha II came to the throne. The reason for this may be either Dhruvasena III died in the battle leaving no male issue or as the Bombay Gazetteer suggests Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from him, and Dhruvasena's eldest brother Siladitya might have died before both of his brothers. The other possibility suggested by scholars (Cf. Mandlik, J.B.B.A.A.S., XI, p. 332) is the clerical error in using the word 'Agraja' for 'Angaja' in the records, and thus considering Kharagraha as Dhruvasena's younger brother. However, the latter explanation cannot be correct as the word 'Agraja' is used in more than one grant of the same ruler, which obviously cannot be a clerical mistake.

(2) Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, p. 92.

The only known grant of this king is dated v.s. 337 (i.e. c. 656 A.D.). It was issued from the victorious camp at Pulindaka, a circumstance from which it is possible to deduce that the war with the Chalukyas was continued during the king's rule. This inscription was written by an officer who was Divirapati or the chief secretary, and minister of peace and war, named Anahila. The dutaka of the grant was prmatr or survey officer Srīnāga (1). The donee of the gift recorded by this inscription is a Rigvedi Brānmana of the Sārkarākshi gotra, one Nārāyana hailing from Ānandpura and residing in Khetaka.

It was this Kharagraha who seems to have officiated as dutaka in the later grants of Dhruvasena II (v.s. 320223). Anyway as we saw above, the throne passed from Dhruvasena II to Dharasena IV who may to a minor in the early years of Dhruvasena II's reign. The choice of Dharasena IV, however, fell on Dhruvasena III as successor and dutaka of his grants and not on Kharagraha II. However, Kharagraha II was destined to accede to the Valabhi throne which he obtained by the death of his younger brother.

That he was very generous like other Maitraka kings, in making grants, is clear from the Valabhi records which mention him as one who 'imparted wealth to the suppliants'. He not only made to renew the old grants that had lapsed grants but took special care during the reign of his predecessors. Even as a king he is said to have promulgated the varnasrama system of the Aryan society. It is said that like dharma (religion) incarnated, he well established the duties of the various Varnas and isramas (2).

⁽²⁾ Fleet, C.I.I., III, p. 185.

(1) Bühler, "Grant of the Valabhi King", I.A., WII, p. 73.

The writer of his grant has praised him very much by the Vyatireka (excellence) figure of speech (1) wherein the king is represented to excel Visnu through a number of Slihas (puns). e.g. it is said that this "king has distributed 'Lakshmi' (here it means wealth) among his pranayinas (suppliants), has turned out 'gada' (disease), has raised up the chakra (whole number) of 'Sudasana's (good scriptures), has given up sports of a child, has not cast down (adhah) the Dvijātis (Brāhmanas) has conquered the world by a single 'vikrama' (exploit), has not taken to a jala (dull) bed, and thus has been an extraordinary Purushottama (the best of men), while the traditional Purushottana (Visnu) has not imparted Lakshmi (his wife) to the Pranayins (suitors), has not turned out the 'gada' (mace), has not raised up the sudarsana chakra (wheel), has not given up sports of a child, has cost the dvijati (bird) beneath him, has conquered the world not by one Vikrama (stride) and has taken to a gada (water's bed). What the passage inclination granduto show that the king was liberal, healthy, learned, respectful ing the Brahmans, valiant and active and had all the qualities of a great king according to the description was stated to have been found in him (2).

Like Dhruvasena III, king Kharagraha also seems to have left no son behind him. Thus both the younger sons of Derabhata died without leaving a male issue.

⁽¹⁾ In this figure of speech a comparison is made.

^{(2) &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

Siladitya II

c. 658-685 A.D.

Siladitya II was the son of Siladitya, the elder brother of Kharagraha II. From the description of the Valabhi records it seems that this brother of Kharagraha had never attained to the regal status, and that when the throne fell vacant on his death, it went in the absence probably of other claimants, to Siladitya II who was next to Kharagraha II, the late ruler. In his inscriptions, however, Siladitya II has thus honoured the memory of his father: "the lord of the earth whose breast is the mountain Vindhya" (1). This description suggests that like his father Derabhatta, Siladitya was the master of the territory round about the Vindhya mountains, and that he probably ruled conjointly with the king of yalabhi in his general policy.

Eleven copper-plate records of Siladitya II have so far come to light with dates ranging from v.s. 342 (2) (i.e. c. 662 A.D. to v.s. 357 (3) (i.e. c. 676 A.D.). Hence it may be assumed that his reign began in or about 658 A.D. - two years after the only record of his predecessor was issued - and ended somewhere in the neighbourhood of 685 A.D. six years before the first known record of his successor Siladitya III.

It would appear that the reign of Siladitya II was

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, op. et loc.cit (3) Prinsep, "The Kaira Grant of Siladity , JAS.B. VII p que (2) Acharya, op. cit. No. 78.

(A) App. D.

Acharya, op. cit. No. 78.

attended with gradual success, as his grants record that he "dar by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits" (1). may be concluded from this that he slowly retrieved the losses suffered by his family in the previous reign. It will be remembered how in the reign of Dhruvasena III the old dominions of the Chālukyas in Gujarāt were recovered by Vikramāditya I, who appointed Allasakti Prthavivallabha, the Sendraka chief, as his governor. Kharagraha II who followed Dhruvasena on the Valabhi throne, had some hopes of restoring the losses, but they were never materialised. It was thus left to Siladitya II to try to reinstate the fallen fortunes of his family. He seems to have taken to his task in right earnest ever since the outset of his reign. He was so successful in this enterprise that he seems to have ousted the Sendrakas from southern Gujarāt, so that it soon became necessary for Dharāsraya-Jayasimhavarman, the brother of the Emperor, to lead a campaign against the Maitrakas to regain this province. His Nasik plates of 20th March 666 A.D. expressly say that "with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Matri and Naramada" (2). Now this is precisely the

⁽¹⁾ Fleet, C.I.J., III, p. 185.

(2) Khare, "The Nasik Plates of Jayasimha", Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, I, pp. 8 ff. Cf. Mirashi, "New Light on the Medieval History of Gujarat", Acarya-ruspanjali Volume, p. 56. In a recent article, "A Note on Vajrata (I.H.Q., XX, pp. 353 ff) Frof. Mirashi has suggested K.Sam. 436 i.e. 683 A.D. as the date of the above mentioned plate instead of 666 A.D. without specifying reasons thereof. However, in the same article, the Prof. concludes through different arguments that the victory over Vajrata has took place sometime before 670 A.D. which very well agrees with one above mentioned date for this war agout above.

tract of land under the direct rule of the Chalukyas since the palmy days of Pulikesin II, a tract which became a bone of contention during the dark period of their history between them and the Maitrakas. Obviously for this territory to have become again the theatre of war soon after its recovery by the Chalukyas, the latter must have been forced to withdraw within a few years. This was just the time when the Pallavas in the south were making frantic efforts to recover their conquests while Vikramaditya had not yet definitely rolled back the tide of their aggression. This task was accomplished only sometime in 670 A.D. In his Honnor plates dated Vaisakha s.s. 592 (670 A.D.) we find him "residing at the great camp at Malliyur to the west of Kanchipura" (1), and therefore carrying the war into the enemy's own country. But a fortnight later he is already at his capital Patadakal with a proud addition to his birudas: victorious over enemy kings (ripu-narendra- (ndran) disi (disi) jitva etc. .. (2) - an ample proof to the success of this campaign.

Was, and in the absence of more definite information we can only hazard the suggestion that he was probably a general of the Maitrakas or that the name may be equated with king Siladitya as Dr. Mirashi has tried to do; are there was no contemporary north Indian ruler, known to research, powerful enough to dispute successfully the

⁽¹⁾ Mysore Archaeological Report; 1939, p. 134.

⁽²⁾ Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", I.A., VII\$ p.219 ff. It is important to note that these plates were issued in the 16th year of Vikramāditya's reign exactly as the Honnur plates. The difference is only that while the former are dated Vaisakha-Jyestha amavasya, the later were issued in Purnima. From the fact that the Saka year is wrong (s.s. 531-32), Dr. Fleet has rashly concluded that the plates themselves are spurious. Genuine plates with wrong dates are legion.

⁽³⁾ App.

possession of Southern Gujarat (1).

The battle which thus ended in victory to the Chālukya arms must be ranked among the decisive battles of Chālukyan histowy. It was equal to the rout of Harsa by Pulikesin II and was celebrated as such in the sasanas of the Rāstrakūtas, who having defeated the Chālukyas in their turn sought to aggrandise themselves vicariously by mentioning this Chālukya achievement in their records (2). With decrease of the power of the Maitrakas, the northern frontiers of the Chālukyan Empire were secured from their incursions and Vikramāditya was left free to deal with his southern enemies. As a result Silāditya did never den the tible imperial titles.

vikramāditya, however, did not reinstate the Sendraka chief as governor or viceroy of his northern provinces. Clearly this part of the empire had to be placed in safer and stronger hands, if his attention were not to be distracted from the all-important task of eliminating the Pallava peril. Hence he made it over to the charge of Dharāraya Jayasimha. Accordingly we are told in the Navsari plates of his son stracted Silāditya, dated K.421 (670-71 A.D.) that the prosperity of Jayasimha "was augmented by

⁽¹⁾ According to Prof. Mirashi the name Vajjada is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Vajrata or Vajrabhata. The Rastrakuta records of a later period actually name him Vajrata. But no similar name is found in the contemporary documents. True there is a Vajrabhata, the feudatory of Varmalata of the Vasantagadha inscription (cf. E.I., IX, p. 19), the former however, flourished half a century earlier (cf. Mirashi, op. et loc.cit). Hence it is very likely that as we have supposed above this Vajjada was a chief or a general in the Maitraka army, or it may be another name of king Siladitya himself (cf. Mirashi, "A Note on Vajrata", I.H.Q., XX, pp. 353 ff., Apr. 9.

his elder brother Vikramaditya" (1). Southern Gujarat with the adjoining terriboby of Nasik remained under the rule of Javasimha throughout the reign of his brother. His Nasik plates referred to above, dated K. 416 (666 A.D.), recorded the grant of the village of Dhongaka in the Nasikyavisaya (modern Dhonggaon near Masik)(2) Five years later in K. 421 (670-71 A.D.), another grant of a village was made on his behalf by his son, the above-mamed Sryasraya Siladitya (3). This was the village of Asattigrama, which is identified with Astagam, seven miles south-east of Navasāri (4). Finally in K. 443 (693 A.D.) we find the same Siladitya, while yet a Yuvaraja issuing another grant in this territory (5). This was the village of Osumbhala in Karmaneya ahara, the present Umbhad, seven miles to the south of Kamrej and fifteen miles to the north-west of Surat. The Sendrakas in the meanwhile had been transferred to Khandesh where we find Allasaktis son Jayasakti granting a village Senana-Kalasa by his Mundkhede plates dated Saka S. 602 (680 A.D.) (6).

The Maitrakas, however, were not altogether crushed by the Chalukyan victory. Three of their records dated v.s. 350 (6694.D.) (7), v.s. 352 (671 A.D.) and v.s. 356 (675 A.D.) were issued respectively from their victorious camps at Khetaka, Meghavana and

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Mirashi, op.cit., p. 56; Hultzsch, "Navsari Plates of Sryasraya Siladitya", E.I., VIII, p. 229; Acarya, op.cit., No.103.

⁽²⁾ Khare, op.et loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ Hultzsch, op.cit., p. 229; Acarya, op. et loc. cit.
(4) Bühler, "Gurjara Inscriptions" E.I., XVII, p. 198.
(5) Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, pp. 211 ff; Acarya, op. cit. No. 104.

⁽⁶⁾ Chandorkar, "A Copper-plate grant of the Sendraka Chief Jayasakti", Prabhat of Dhulia, I, p. 1; Cf. Mirashi, "Sendraka Jayasakti's Inscription", Bharata Itihasa-Samshodhaka-Mandala, XVII, p. 1; Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal Annual Report, Saka 1834, p. 169; Mirashi, op et loc.cit.

⁽⁷⁾ Oza, op.cit. IV, p. 74; Acarya, op.cit. No. 82.

⁽⁸⁾ Bühler, op.cit. XI, p. 305; Acarya, op.cit. No. 83. (9) Diskalkar, op.cit. p. 57; Acarya, op.cit. No. 84.

Pichchhipajivasak. All these places were presumably not very far from Chālukya-Maitraka frontier. These circumstances show that frontier warfare was maintained for a considerable while. The Gurjaras probably bore the brunt of this warfare - a conclusion which the Gurjara records go to support. For it is said of Dadda III, the contemporary (1) Gurjara ruler, that his "other name of Bāhusahāya (2) was made famous by the strength of (his) arm that was displayed in tearing through innumerable hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west" (3). This is indeed a conventional praise, but it admits of the inference that his reign was troubled, a fact which is again confirmed by the paucity of records of this ruler.

That in the year v.s. 357 (i.e. 676 A.D.) Siladity made a grant of a village in Bharuke/chha vişaya (4), shows that this part of the country, conquered during the reign of Dharasena IV, was definitely under the Maitraka sway during Siladitya II's reign. However, with the above mentioned success of the Chalukyan kings, it passed once again to the Gurjaras, who were the feudatories of the latter. This happened sometime before K.S.456 (i.e. 705 A.D.) as is indicated by the Namasari grant of Jayabhatta III, which records the donation of a village Sampadraka to a

⁽¹⁾ Ante Ch.XI, note 10. (2) Bhagavanlal Indraji, "A New GurjaraCopper-plate Grant", I.A., XIII, pp. 79-80.

⁽³⁾ i.e. He whose (only) helper was his arms.

⁽⁴⁾A.S.R.W.C., 1915-6, p. 55; Acharya, op.cit., No. 92.

Brahmana residing at Sruddika (1). Both these villages belonged to the Bharukachha vişaya.

Another event of historical importance that took place during the reign of Siladitya was an Arab raid against Gogha (2), a port on the eastern coast of Nathiawad in the vicinity of Hastavapra. The Arab commander Is-mail landed at Jogha with a mighty army in A.H. 57 (677 A.D.) (3). The Arab historians give no further details about this expedition. It seems, therefore, that the Arab army met with a described defeat at the place and gradino access to the coast of Saurashtra at all. Anyway, the occasion gave an opportunity to the Maitraka king who was then the ruler of that part, to display his prowess in driving away the foreigners.

In the grants of this king we find two princes officiating as Dutakas. The portion containing the name of the earliest grant dated v.s. 343 is illegible. The dutaka in the grants dated from v.s. 346 to 352 is prince Dhruvasena. It is quite probably that the same prince was the dutaka in the earlier grant. Accordingly, it may be assumed that prince Dhruvasena who acted as the dutaka as early as V.S. 343 was of an age to shoulder the responsibility of the important office of a dutaka even at the beginning of Siladitya II's reign. The dutaka in the next two grants dated v.s. 356 and 357 (Pansa) is another prince

⁽¹⁾Bhagvanlal Indraji, "A New Gurjara copper-plate Grant", 1.4.,

Music Laboration (1) Pp. 70 1 Acharya, op.cit., II, No.117.13) Medical Mission (1) Pp. 25-6

(3) Ibid.

named Kharagraha. But Dhruvasena appears in this capacity as dutaka once again, and remained in the office till the last known date of Siladitya II's reign. Thus prince Dhruvasena seems to have officiated as the dutaka throughout this reign. Evidentally it was Dhruvasena who had the first claim to hold this post. It seems probable that he was substituted by prince Kharagraha for a temporary period only, when the former was knaprobably engaged with some more responsible duty. Both these princes are designated simply as Rajaputras which shows that

Another officer viz. bhs Lekhaka of king Siladitya's grant was Divirapati Anahila, the son of Skandabhata, who was a lekhaka from Dhruvasena III's reign (%5.334) onwards. In one grant he was substituted by another divirapati named Mammaka who was also a Sandhivigrahadikrta, the Mahapratihana and a Samanta.

From the time of this ruler onwards no reference to the Vindhya region is made separately. This suggests that king Siladitya inherited not only the Valabhi empire but also the Vindhya division which was so long governed (conjointly with Valabhi kings) by his father and grandfather Siladitya and Derabhatta respectively.

CHAPTER

SĪLĀDITYA III

Siladitya III was the son and successor of Siladitya II.

As a prince he seems to have borne the name occuring in the grants of his father as that of the <u>dūtaka</u>: Dhruvasena 1. We know that the <u>dūtaka</u> was generally the heir-apparent; and hence it could be supposed that the name Siladitya must have been assumed by him on his accession to the throne - a practice in which he was followed by all his successors.

In the very first inscription that we have of him dated V.S. 372² (i.e. c. 691 A.D.), he is given the imperial style of Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara. This is easy to understand in view of the fact that the bitter struggle between the Chāļukyas and the Pallavas had not yet ended in a decisive victory to the former. Though it is true that the Pallava records credit Vikramāditya I with having received "by surrender, the town of Kanchi, after defeating the lord of the Pallavas," and with "having obeisance done to him by the lord of Kanchi, who had bowed down to none other," the Pallava records claim for his contemporary Paramesvara-Varman I that he "crushed the conceit of (his) enemies," and that he was "a sun in destroying the darkness

^{1.} Acharya, J.B.B.R.A.S., (N.S.) I, p. 73; Bhandarkar, A.S.W.C. Report, 1915-16, p. 65; Acharya, op.cit., 80, 81, 82, 83, etc.

^{2.} Bha. Pra. San.Ins., p. 54; Acharya, op.cit., No. 88. The last known grant of his predecessor is V.S.357 (676 A.D.) while the first known grant of this king is V.S. 372 (i.e. 691 A.D.) and the last known date is V.S. 382 (i.e. 701 A.D.); this shows that he ruled for 25-30 years.

which was the army of the Chalukya king." Nor were the efforts of the next Chalukya Emperor Vinayaditya attended with better success. His records make it abundantly clear that during his reign the Pallavas were far from being crushed. In fact the victories against the Pallavas that are attributed to him are of the time of his father. In their stereotyped eulogy the later inscriptions make it a point to aver that it was "at the command of his father" (my italics) that Vinayaditya "arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kanchi, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions;"2 or as another record picturesquely observes, he vanquished "the proud army of the confederacy of the three (trainajya) and the lord of Kanchi, at the command of his father, just as Kartikeya at the command of Siva, defeated the very insolent host of demons." Nevertheless, it is at all events clear that Vinayaditya preserved in their integrity the conquests of Vikramaditya, and the frontiers, as had been fixed, were respected by both the powers. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the Maitraka contemporary is seen unhesitatingly to flaunt his imperial titles.

In the official account of his family Siladitya is described as one, "(who achieved) supreme lordship (by engaging in

^{1.} Krishna Sastri, "Velurpalaiyam Plates of Vijaya Nandivarman," S.I.I., II, p. 511.

^{2.} Fleet, "Five Copper Plate Grants of the Western Chalukya Dynasty," J.B.B.R.A.S., XVI, pp. 231 & 242 (Togur Sho de plates).

plates).

3. Pathak, "Kendur Plates of Kirtivarman II," S.S. 672," E.I., IX, p. 205; Fr. Heras, Studies in the Pallava History, pp. 48-49.

the creation of another world); the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (his) enemies' elephants whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (his) fame, (and) who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahésvara." Naturally enough Vinayaditya could not look supinely at the ambitions of his northern neighbours. Moreover a number of new dynasties were making a bid for sovereignty in Northem India. We hear for the first time in c. 700 A.D. of a new family of the Rastrakutas in Berar deriving its origin from Elichpur in Central India, which were destined to take the place of the imperial Chalukyas later in the 8th century2. In Magadha the Gupta house of Malava was firmly entrenched. While Vikramaditya I was engaged in the task of recovering the lost Chalukya kingdom, Adityasena Gupta, the representative of this house, so strengthened his position that he was able, before long, in 672 A.D., to make himself the paramount sovereign of the north by celebrating the horse sacrifice. His son Devagupta III seems to have exercised the same wide powers, since he is etyled like his father Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara ... etc. Vinayaditya therefore led an expedition to the north, and

4. Ibid.

^{1.} Fleet, "The Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Siladitya VII", C.I.I., III, p. 186.

^{2.} Altekar, op.cit., p. 10.

3. Fleet, "Dec-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II," C.I.I,
Vol. III, p. 213.

attempted to bring these various powers under his control. An inscription of 694 A.D. informs us that by this time he had succeeded in imposing his suzerainty on the Mālavās and the - Haihayas¹; while according to an account which later became official, he had "by churning all the kings of the north (or the lord of all the north).... acquired the exalted Pālidhvaja² and all other signs of supreme power." The Mālavās here referred to, were evidently the Maitrakas, who in the words of the above record, were "brought into service equally with the Ālupas, Gangas and others of old standing." The campaign was apparently

1. E.C., XI, Dg. 66.

^{2.} Palidhvaja seems to have been a symbol of universal empire; K.B. Pathak, ("The explanation of the term Palidhvaja" I.A., XIV, 104) says, in this connection "the term Palidhvaja, or Paliketana, does not itself mean any particular kind of flag, but denotes a peculiar arrangement, in rows of the ten kinds of flags described below: pali, in Sanskrit, in fact, signifies 'a row'. In each direction, a hundred and eight flags of each kind, - or in other words, a thousand and eighty flags on all, - are ranged in lines. Thus, the total number of flags, in the four directions, is four thousand three hundred and twenty. We are further told that the Lord Jina adopted the Palidhvaja as an indication of his universal empire over the three worlds after the conquest of Moha or Maya, or 'delusion'. Lakshmisenabhattaraka, the head of the Jaina Math at Kolhapur, says that some years ago a palidhvaja was constructed there in honour of Mahavira."

Manavira.

3. E.C., X, Kl., 63; Fleet, "The Nerur Plates," I.A., IX, p. 129.
There is no xx evidence for the statement of Saletore, (Life in Gupta Age. p. 88) that "the sovereign whom Vinayaditya defeated is also styled as Vajrata in Western Chalukya as well as some Rastrakuta records." The sources cited by this writer, I.A. XI, pp. 114, 119; IX, p. 129 do not support the assertion.

^{4.} E.C., XI, Dg. 66

the entire territory which was once included in the glorious empire of the Vakatakas. Vinayaditya was now in fact as well as in name, the proud successor of this illustrious dynasty, and accordingly he took over their imperial symbols of Ganga and Yamuna 1.

Siladitya III seems to have ruled from 690 to 710 A.D. Five of his copper-plate grants are known to us, the earliest
being of V.S. 375² (c. 694 A.D.) and the last V.S. 387 (i.e.
c.706 A.D.)³. Three other inscriptions record V.S. 376⁴, V.S.
381⁵, and V.S. 382⁶, as their dates and with the Brahmana donees.

As regards the dutaka of the grant issued by king Siladitya, we find mention of two princes viz., Kharagraha and Dharasena?. The former appears as a dutaka in his earlier grants dated V.S. 372, 375 and 376, and the latter in that of 381 and 382. The former dutaka, viz. Kharagraha was probably the same who appeared in Siladitya II's grant dated 356 and 357. He was probably the younger brother of king Siladitya III. The office of dutaka was taken up by prince Dhruvasena who was probably the yuvaraja and officiated as dutaka on attaining his maturity.

^{1.} E.C., X, Kl. 63; Jayaswal, op.cit., pp. 96, 106.

^{2.} Acharya, op.cit., No. 88; B.P.S.I., p. 54.

^{3.} A.S.R.W.C., 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, op.cit., No. 92

^{4.} Keilhorn, "A Copper-plate Grant from Valabhi," E.I., V, p. 69; Acharya, op.cit., No. 89.

^{5.} Acharya, Ibid., No. 90.; Acharya, op.cit., p. 75.

^{6.} Keilhorn, op.et.loc.cit.; Acarya, op.cit., No. 91

^{7.} B.P.S.I., P. 54; Kax Kielhorn, op.cit., V, p. 69; Bhandarkar, A.S.W.C.Rept., 1915-16; p. 55; Acharya, op.cit., Nos. 88, 89 and 92.

The writer of the grant was Sri Haragana, son of Bappa-bhogika, who was also a baladhikrta (commander-in-chief). The writer Haragana himself was a divirapati. This office, according to the records thus shifted from the family of Anahila to that of Haragana, who was succeeded by Sri Adityasena the adopted son of the former 1.

In this traditional account it has not been made clear as to who this king of Kandj was. The name of the Valabhi king is said to be Dhruvapatu. This, may be suggested to be king siladitya III who was a contemporary of Jayasekhara and who do another name, was probably Dhruvasena (this name is known from the grant of his predecessor, in whose time he must have acted as a dutaka).

That Jayasekhara lived in this period is problem the fellowing account given in Ratnamala.

(f.n. continued on next page)

^{1.} Another event said to have taken place during this period was the fall of Pancasara which was ruled by a petty chieftan Jaya-sethana of the Chapotaka line. Although there is no epigraphical evidence to support this event, this is referred to by the Ratnamālā, a historical poem. The victory is said to be of king Bhūvad of Kalyāna, and the battle is said to have taken place in Vik.S. 752 (696-97 A.D.). Later on the posthumous son of the Vangnished king named Vanarāja founded a new kingdom at Anahilavāda in Vik.S. 802 i.e. 746-47 A.D.

In the bardic tradition, as gathered by the late Vrajlal Shastri (cf. Rāsmālā, p. 40 f.n.), some light is thrown on the relation, of Valabhi with that of Kanoj Panchasara. According to this tradition the country of Gurjarāt was under the sway of the king of Kanoj. The daughter of this king named Ratnaganga was married to king Dhruvapatu of Valabhi. The Gurjara country was given as a dowry to this princess. Another daughter of this king was given to the king of Lāta. The Kanouj king himself was a staunch Buddhist and had turned his son-in-law into a Buddhist. As a result of this conversion the Valabhi king is said to have levied taxes on the land which was formerly donated to the vedic Brahmanas of Gujarāt. This was to please his father-in-law, the king of Kanoj. On hearing this, king Jayasekhara of the petty kingdom of Panchāsara, taking side of the vedic Brahmanas, snatched away the Gurjara country from the Valabhi king. Thereupon king Sudhanava of Kanoj came to the help of the Valabhi king, killed Jayasekhara and annexed Panchāsara.

CHAPTER

SILADITYA IV

Siladitya III was succeeded by his son who styled himself Siladitya IV. As a prince he must have borne his personal name Dharasena which occurs in the grants of his father . official account of the family as recorded in the Alina grant of his successor Siladitya VI, it is said of him that "the waterlilies" of his feet "were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (produced) by (his) splendour."2

He is invariably accorded in his own grants, no less than in those of his successors, the imperial titles of the family: Paramamahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja, and Paramesvara, a fact which shows that during his rule the Maitrakas renounced the obedience, more or less nominal, which they had yielded to the Chalukyas. His reign synchronises with the rule of the unwarlike Vijayaditya, whose achievements, according to the records, were in the art of peace? when the Chalukyas, it would seem, beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks.

But conditions changed with the succession of Vikramaditya II in 733 A.D.4 He is said to have "resolved to uproot the Pallava

4. Fleet, op.et.loc.cit.

^{1.} Acharya, "Unpublished Valabhi Copper-plates," J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S. I, p. 75; Kielhorn, op.cit., V, p. 69; Acharya, op.cit., Nos.

<sup>90, 91.

2.</sup> Fleet, "The Alina Copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII,"

C.I.I., III, pp. 187-88.

Sthe Kanarasa Districts, p. 374.

^{3.} Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 374.

king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour of the former kings of his line, who on coming to the Tundaka district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king." Naturally enough, he could have started on his southern expedition only after he had seeing to the security of his northern frontiers. Here, as we have already observed, the Maitraka monarch was giving himself imperial airs, and was possibly harassing his Gurjara neighbour, the faithful feudatory of the Chalukyas. Accordingly, the imperial troops moved across the Maitraka frontier, an enterprise in which they were presumably joined by the Gurjara chief Jayabhatta IV. The expedition was a success, and, Siladitya was compelled to surrender a large part of his kingdom. We are informed in the Sanjan plates that Rastrakuta Indra I had married the Chalukya princess Bhavanaga by raksasa from form of marriage at Kaira2. Naturally, this well known part of the Maitraka territory must have sometime after 733 A.D., the year of Vikramaditya's accession, changed hands as a result of the

2. Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I, S.S. 793," E.I., XVIII, p. 252.

4. Indra I himself seems to have come to the throne in 730 A.D. cf. Altekar, Rastrakutas, p. 10.

^{1.} Pathak, "Kendur Plates of Kirtivarman II, S.S. 672," E.I., IX, p. 205.

^{3.} As late as 722 A.D. Kaira was included within the Maitraka kingdom (cf. J.BEB.R.A.S., XI, p. 335; Acarya, op.cit., Nos. 93 & 94). The Maitrakas surrendered besides their dominions between the Sahya and the Vindhya mountains.

Chalukyan victory . Following the example of his grandfather the Chalukya sovereign confirmed his kinsman Avanijanasraya Satyasraya Pulikesin2, (youngest) son of Jayasimha, in the government of southern Gujarat.

A greater calamity was the formidable invasion of the Arabs. arranged according to Biladuri, the Arab historian, by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham, 724-243 A.D. This must have occurred somewhere in 735 A.D. for the Gurjara records clearly refer to this expedition in Chedi Samvat 486 or 735-36 A.D. Biladuri relates that Junaid sent officers to reduce among others "Marmad Mandal, Danaj and Barus", and that "he sent a force against Uzain and also sent Habid, son of Marra, against the country of Maliba. They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked

about the exact year when Tamin succeeded Jumaid.

4. Acharya, op.cit., II, No. 119; Acharya, "A Grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhatta": (Kalachuri) year 486," E.I., XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

Nazumdar, op.cit., XVIII, p. 93; Elliot, however, says that Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about 726 A.D. (cf. Elliot, History of India, I, 126) from which Dr. Mazumdar concludes that "the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A.D., though he doubts

Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailaman and Jurz, and he received at his abodes in addition to what his visitors presented to him forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum."

The places mentioned here are indeed - corrupted beyond recognisition, and we have thefore to thank Dr. R. C. Majumdar for his ingenuity in restoring them their original forms: "Marmad is the same as Marn-mada which is referred to in the Chatiala inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmar and part of Jodhapur State. Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor.... Jurz was the Ārabic corruption of the Gurjara country, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Valla-Madala. It would thus appear that the Ārab army under Jumaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south."

A more comprehensive account, however, is met with in the afore-named Nawsari plates of Pulikesia. The Tajjikas, that is to say the Arabs, are here described as having first destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchela, Surastra, Cavotaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings, and then to have proceeded against the Daksina patha or the Deccan intent on conquering the southern kings. In the face of this

^{1.} Elliot, op.et.loc.cit.; Muhammad Umard, "The Gujarat-Muslim relations before the eleventh century," Forbes Gujarati
Traimasik, III, pp. 25 ff.

^{2.} Majumdar, op.et.loc.cit.

^{3.} Acharya, op.et.loc.cit.

common peril, the Hindu powers of Western India seem to have sunk their differences and offered a united front to the enemy. In his records of 736 A.D. Jayabhatta IV, the Gurjara ruler of Broach boasts that he was "the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhatta who has forcibly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tajjikās who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhi with the water of the edge of his sword."

But the Hindu resistance proved futile till at Navasāri the confederate army was reinforced by the Chālukya troops under prince Pulikēsi; who routed the Tajikas, and won from a grateful sovereign the epithets of "Daksināpatha Svādhāraṇa" or solid pillar of Dakshināpatha or the Deccan and "Amivarta Kanivartayiṭr" or Repeller of the Unrepellable.²

It is thus clear that along with other states in the North-west, the Maitraka kingdom was also wrecked by the invaders, and confusion reigned therein for the next two decades, when the -scattered remnants of this principality were put together by

2. Vienna Ori.Conf. Rept. Aryan Sect, p. 230; Acharya, op.cit., No. 106; Bhandarkar's No. 1220; Bom.Gaz. op.et.loc.cit; Mazumdar, op.et.loc.cit., E.I.XVIII, p. 93; Bhandarkar, Slow Progress of Islam Powers in Ancient India, A.B.O.I., X, pp. 31-32.

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., pp. 114-15.(Kavi-plates), Acharya, "A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhatta III: year 486," E.I., XXIII, pp. pp. 151, 154, notes 7 and 1 respectively. The line as corrected by Dr. Chakravarti is: "Prasabhami Valabhi-pateh pure, yo(ye) n = asesha-loka-sami(tapa)-kalapa-da-Tajjik-analah Ja(ya)bhata-Jalada esha sa(h)" Dr. Chakravarti remarks that "there could not have been any reference to a fight with the lord of Valabhi in the fragmentary Kavi Plate of Jayabhatta III (K.486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the Bombay Gazetter, Vol. I, Pt. I, On the other hand it appears that the latter came to Valabhi to help its ruler in fighting the Tajjkas or the Arab invadors who were the common enemies of all the rulers of the Western India."

Silāditya v.1

The dutaka of the grant was prince Siladitya who was probably the same Siladitya V who succeeded this king. Another officer, the writer of his grant of was Gillaka, the son of Buddabhata. He was also a Baladhikrta.

^{1.} Two copper-plate grants of this king are known to us; both are dated V.S. 403 (i.e. 722 A.D.) The dones of both the grants were Brahmanas. They were Rigvedins and belonged to the Gargya-gotra. The geneology recorded in these grants is bit different from the other grants. Here Dhruva-sena III is described as Dharasena III's son. This is probably due to the writer's mistake, as it differs from a large number of other records of the line which give a different geneology. Mandlik, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 335.

CHAPTER

SILADITYA V. 740 - 762 A.D.

When the stirring events mentioned in the last chapter were taking place, two royal houses were slowly laying the foundations of their power in central India. They were the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rastrakutas. The former had before the invasion of the Tajjikas wrested the province of Malava from the Maitrakas who had held it for more than a century. The origin of this dynasty is still obscure while it was agreed on all hands that Mahodaya or Kanauj became their capital from the time of Bhoja I onwards, nothing was known until recently as to where they were ruling before they came to Kanauj, and it was a mere surmise when Vincent Smith sought to connect them with Bhilmal or Bhinamal in Rajputana However, on the strength of a verse from the Harivamsa which describes Vatsaraja the Gurjara Pratihara as the monarch of Avanti (Ujjain) in 784 A.D. When Jinasena wrote his book, it has been concluded that Malava was their home province?. This is said to be confirmed by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa which aver that

^{1.} Smith, Early History of India, p. 378; Ghosh, "Early Capital of the Gurjara Pratiharas of Mahodaya," I.H.Q., VII, pp. 753 ff.

2. Cf. Pathak, "A passage in the Harivamsa relating to the Gurjaras,"

I.A., XV, p. 141; Majumdar, "The Gurjara-Pratiharas,"

Journal of the Department of Letters, X, pp. 22 ff.

Traced and Anagolian and Company Anagolian (A)

The Gurjara-Pratihara King Bhoja, "The Gwalior Prasasti of the Gurjara-Pratihara King Bhoja," E.I., XVIII, p. 102, App. E.

when Dantidurga (745-756 A.D.) performed the ceremony of Hirana-garbha at Ujjain, "the Gurjaralord and others were made door-keepers."

When did the Gurjara-Pratiharas came by this province? Nagabhatta, the founder of this royal line, is represented as having defeated the Mlenchchha army - a description which agrees perfectly with the statement of Biladuri, who in this connection merely says that the Arabs 'made incursions against Ujjain,' whereas in connection with others he uses the words conquered or defeated.2 From these circumstances the inference is justified that Malava had been constituted into-separate kingdom under the Gurjara-Pratiharas sometime before this invasion of the Tajjikas. It may here be observed that in the comprehensive list of the states destroyed by the latter the Navasari plates of Pulakesin-Jayasraya, above referred to, do not include Avanti while they specifically mention Saurastra in which Valabhi is situated. However, in the absence of any historical data, we may only hazard the guess that the province perhaps passed to the Gurjara Pratiharas as a result of the defeat of the Maitrakas by the Chalukyas. Dr. Altekar has advanced the view that the Rastrakuta Indra I joined this campaign as one of the feudatories of the

^{1.} Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha, S.S. 793," E.I., XVIII, pp. 252 ff.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>, p. 101; Sten Konow, "Hansot Plates of Chahamana Bhartrivaddha," <u>E.I.</u>, XII, p. 200.

^{3.} Elliot, History of India, I, p. 126; Majumdar, op.cit., E.I., XVIII, p. 102.

Chalukya king 1. We may not be far too wrong, if we suggest that Nagabhatta also co-operated with the latter by causing a diversion from the north or north-east, if Bhinamala is taken to be his original seat of government 2. In the Gwalior Prasasti of Bhojadeva, one of Nagabhatta's descendants, he is spoken of as having overwhelmed the Saindhavas. The latter were the feudatories of the Maitrakas, who may have on this occasion charged them with the defence of the northern frontiers 3.

The Rastrakutas were the only power that had been left untouched by the invasions of the Tajjikas. To the Chalukya Empire

^{1.} Altekar, op.cit., p. 32.

^{2.} Hiven Tsiang who visited India towards the middle of the seventh century speaks of a Gurjara kingdom which roughly included part of northern Gujarat and south of Rajputana with its capital at Pi-lo-molo, which has been identified with Bhilmal or Bhinamala. Nagabhatta may have carved for himself a kingdom round about this ancient seat of the Gurjaras, while the latter ruled from Mandor, P.R.A.S., W.C., 1907-1908, pp. 40-41.

^{3.} Cf. Altekar, "Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli,"

E.I., XXVI, p. 186; A.R.A.S.I., 1903-1904, p. 281. This fact, however, is not recorded in the same inscription as edited by Mazumdar, E.I., XVIII, p. 111. Pushyadeva, the founder of this dynasty, was probably an emigrant from Sindh so that though he himself traced his descent to the Jayadratha-vamsa, he was known to the people he came to live with as a Saindhava, or as he would have been called to-day a Sindhi. He began his career as a military leader and ended by founding a dynasty. He and his descendants styled themselves "apara-Surastra-mandalamandana" - an epithet which shows that their sphere of influence was confined to Kathiawad. Being a coastal power the Maitrakas had quickly realized the need and uses of a navy, and the AMMK, refers to this arm in connection with a Valabhi king. (Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, pp. 24-25). It is possible that Pushyadeva began as an admiral of the Maitraka fleet and the family eventually developed considerable naval strength which justified their second title 'apara-samudradhipati', or masters of the Western Ocean. Their capital was Bhūtambilika or modern Gumli, where they ruled from c. 740 to 920 A.D. (Altekar, op.cit., p. 186).

already exhausted by the age-long warfare with the Pallavas, the Tajjika invasion was indeed the last straw. Furthermore, the Rastrakutas were fortunate in their king Dantidurga, a great leader "gifted with political insight and possessed of great organising capacity." He was quick to exploit the weakness of his neighbours including that of his overlord. He defeated the Chalukya Kirtivarman II "without taking up" as the Samangad plates put it, "his polished weapon; www unawares, without any inward concentration of his thoughts(?), and without any effort, - by simply knitting his brows, he straightway conquered Vallabha with a spike of wild rice that served him as a mace, and acquired the condition of being the supreme king of kings and the supreme lord. Even with but a few dependents, possessed of chariots and horses which were not to be conquered, he quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karnataka which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kanchi and the king of Kerala and the Cholas and the Pandyas and Sri-Harsa and Vajrata."2 The whole of Maharastra now lay at his feet, as places mentioned in these plates would amply testify. Shortly before this he had taken the country between the Mahi and the Reva. by storm. This was the old Gurjara kingdom of Broach or Nandipuri; it had remained loyal to the Chalukyas till the very end. Dantidurga made it over to the charge of the Gurjara-Pratihara king Nagabhatta who had in the meanwhile accepted him his -

^{1.} Altekar, op.cit., p. 40.

^{2.} Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions," I.A., XI, pp.

^{3.} Ibid.

overlordship. It will be remembered that the latter had acted as door-keeper at his capital Ujjain when Dantidurga performed there the Hiranagarbha ceremony - a post of honour, reserved at the time we are speaking of, to the most trusted feudatories.2 Over southern Gujarat Kakka II, his kinsman was possibly appointed in the capacity of a governor.

Siladitya V had in the meanwhile restored his authority in Saurastra, the original kingdom. In V.S. 441 (i.e. c. 760 A.D.) we find him embarked on an enterprise against some neighbouring power, in the course, which he fixed his camp at Godraka, probably the present Godra in the Panchamahal district. Now the direction of this place which is situated to the north-east of Valabhi shows, if anything, that the Maitraka forces were proceeding towards Malava. It is likely that Siladitya was then endeavouring to retrieve this province from its usurper Nagabhatta. Though he failed in his attempts to dislodge the latter, the expedition was nevertheless a success in asmuch as he was able to recover the Khetaka-ahara from its present occupant.

Acharya's No. 95.

^{1.} Bhandarkar, "Buchkala Inscription of Nagabhatta Sam. 872, E.I., IX, pp. 198 ff. Nagabhatta in his turn appointed Bhartrivadda II of the Chahamana family, as his feudatory in the erstwhile

principality of the Gurjaras. cf. Sten Konow, "Hansot Plates of Chahaman Bhartrivadda," E.I., XII, p. 204.

2. Ghosh (cf. I.H.Q., VII, p. 754) thinks that acting in this capacity was more dix a dishonour than anything else. But it should not be forgotten that Harşa reserved these posts to his most faithful allies and friends Bhaskaravarman of Assam and his continuous and foundatory. Phryscana II. at the chingue. his son-in-law and feudatory Dhruvasena II, at the quinquennial assembly held at Prayaga. Beal, op.cit., p. 185.

3. Cf. Altekar, op.cit., p. 40; Bhagwanlal Indraji, "New Copperplate Grants, of the Rastrakuta Dynasty," J.B.B.R.A.S.,XVII,p.10

4. Buhler, "Lunavada Plates of Siladitya VI," I.A.,VI, p. 16;

^{5.} The villages granted in the Alina plates of the next ruler Siladitya VI are all in the Kaira district; cf. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p. 189; Buhler, op.cit., VII, pp. 79 ff.

Before the close of his reign, however, Siladitya had to repel another invasion of the Tajjikas. In c. 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent 'Amru bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada, which seems to be the present village of Bardia, ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar. Since the Arab historians, who hardly miss an opportunity of singing their received victories, have bestowed on it merely a passing notice, it must have been easily beaten off. The brunt of this attack was borne by the Saindhava feudatory Agguka, who with his flotilla probably became the hero of the war. Agguka, we are told "showed the greatness of Varaha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies."

The dutaka of this king was Sri Jajju whose titles are not legible in the only known grant of Siladitya. The writer was one Sasigupta whose titles are not mentioned in their record.

^{1.} Elliot, op.cit., I, p. 444; Kokil, op.cit., pp. 25 ff.

^{2.} Altekar, op.cit., E.I., XXVÎ, p. 190.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>, p. 190 (line, 4-5).

CHAPTER

SILADITYA VI - 762-0176 A.D.

Siladitya VI succeeded to the throne of Valabhi in c. 762 Like his father he is accorded, in his Alina grant of V.S. 447 (i.e. 766 A.D.), all the imperial titles of his family: Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara. cumstance is enough to show that though their kingdom had suffered a contraction the Maitrakas had not as yet bowed to the Rastra-In fact, issued as it is from his victorious camp of Anandapura (modern Vadnagar) the inscription under reference proves on the contrary that Siladitya was even intent on conquest?. It is likely that the war with the Gurjara-Pratiharas, started in the last reign, had been protracted, and it was in the course of one of the expeditions connected therewith that Siladitya encamped at Anandapura. Clearly, the Maitrakas had taken full advantage of the confusion reigning in the northern parts of the Rastrakuta empire, thanks to the clash between Karka II, their governor of Gujarat who was developing imperial ambitions, and the new Rastrakuta emperor Krsna I consequent on the latter's murder of Dantidurga.

^{1.} The Hansot grant of Bhartrvaddha II (op.et.loc.cit.) states that his father was Dhruvabhatta. We also know that this king Siladitya was called by this name; from this Dr. Sten Konow has inferred that the king Siladitya may have been related to him from his mother's side, possibly the latter was his maternal-grand-father. However, in the absence of any reliable evidence we cannot may with certainty whether this relationship existed. 2. Fleet, "The Alina copper-plates ins. of Siladitya VII," C.I.I.,
III, p. 189.
3. Ibid., p. 170.

^{4.} Altekar, Rastrakutas, p. 42.

The Maitrakas may even have allied themselves with the neighbouring rulers like the Abhiras and the Gurjaras of Mandor to both of whom the rising Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was alike a menace. Nagabhatta had long died, and had been succeeded by his nephew Kakkuka or Kakuştha, and he in turn by his brother Devarāja. Now we know it for a fact that the former was defeated by the Abhiras, who infested the environs of Jodhapur¹ and the latter by Siluka, the king of the Gurjaras of Mandor².

Saurāstra was again invaded by the Tājjkas (Ārabs) in A.H.

159 (c. 776 A.D.)³. This time they seem to have come in force⁴.

For unlike the previous occasion the township of Barada easily fell to them. But sickness broke out in their camp and "swept away a great portion of the troops." "And the rest" we are told, "on their return, were ship-wrecked on the coast of Persia." "So that" concludes the annalist, "the Khalif Mahdi was deterred from any further attempts upon India." 5

^{1.} A.S.I., 1906-7, p. 42; Vallee Poussin, op.cit., p. 119

^{2.} Mazumdar, op.cit., E.I., XVIII, p. 103; Vallee Pousin, op.cit. pp. 116, 120.

^{3.} Cf. Elliot, op.cit., II, pp. 245 ff; Kokil, art.cit.pp. 25%
4. These fleet brought the well-known Islam author Rabia-bin-Sabih with it.

^{5.} Elliot, op.cit., I, p. 444. An echo of this invasion and the havoc caused thereby is to be found in the Vividhathirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri, in which it is related that the Mlencha armies under Hammir invaded and destroyed Valabhi and in consequence the Hindu and the Jaina statuary had to be removed to Srīmāla. The Tappagachchha-Pattavali by Vijayasuri again refers to the three invasions of the Tajjikas, but it misnames them as "Turkas of Ghazani." The author evidently confused them with the Ghaznavids, as he wrote in a later period, when the havoc caused by the latter was fresh in his mind.

Siladitya VI is the last known Maitraka king with whom this illustrious line becomes extinct. The exact date of the event, however, is still undetermined. In the Jaina authorities it is variously stated to have taken place in Vik.S. 375 (319 A.D.)¹, Vik.S. 475 or 375 (i.e. 419 A.D.)², Vik.S. 573 (i.e. 517 A.D.)³, and Vik.S. 845 (i.e. 789 A.D.)⁴. But the first three dates are clearly out of question. The last date is given by Jaina Prabhavasuri and seems to come closer to the truth. Nevertheless, this too is unacceptable; for it is now an established fact that the kingdom was no longer existing when in 783 A.D.⁵ Jainasena wrote his Jaina Harivamsa. In a well known passage in the latter work this writer tells with that it, "was finished in Saka Samvat 705 (expired), = 783 A.D., when there were reigning, - in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamanapura,

^{1.} Jinvijayaji, <u>Puratan Prabandha Sangraha</u>, 192; The same date is also given by Tod, Western India, p. 506

^{2.} Merutunga, <u>Prabandhachintamani</u>, p. 3. Rajasekharasuri, <u>Prabandhakosa</u>, Ch. VII, sloka 66.

^{4.} Jinaprabhawasuri, Vividhathirthakalpa, p. 29.

^{5.} Recently some scholars have any how tried to bring, the Jaina dates for the fall of Valabhi, closer to that of the Arab raid (in 776 A.D.) and the last known record of the last Valabhi king Sitaditya (766 A.D.). It is argued that the year 375 of the Prabandhakosa may be a mistake for 475, the year given by the Prabandhachintamani (the year as read by Muni Jinvijayaji is 573 but it can also be read as 375). This may be of the Gupta-Valabhi era instead of the Vikrama era given by these books. Accordingly, we get (475 + 319) c. 794 A.D. as the year for the fall of Valabhi. Similarly, the year 477 of the Satrunjaya Mahatmya is also taken to be of the Gupta-Valabhi era which brings about 477 + 319) c. 798 A.D. for the date of downfall of the city. Further, the year 845 of the Vividhatirthakalpa is taken to be of the Vikrama era which brings to c. 789 A.D. for the occasion. But as we have seen above fall of Valabhi took place before 783 A.D. i.e. about ten to fifteen years earlier than any of these three dates (794, 789 and 798 A.D.).

which is to be identified with modern Wadhawan in the Jhalavad division of Kathiawan, - in the north, Indrayudha; in the south, Srivallabha; in the east, Vatsaraja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west, Varaha or Jayavaraha, in the territory of the Sauryas."

The circumstances under which the Maitrakas were oversthrown are nowhere mentioned save in the legendary accounts which connect the event with the Tājjika invasions. One such legend was related to Alberuni when he visited India, and is reported by him in his fascinating account of our country: "A man of the rank of a Siddha asked a herdsman with reference to a plant called Thohar, of the species of the Lactaria, from which milk flows when they are torn off, whether he had ever seen Lactaria from which blood flows instead of milk. When the herdsman declared he had, he gave him some drink-money that he should show it to him, which he did. When the man now saw the plant, he set fire to it, and threw the dog of the herdsman into the flame. Enraged thereby, the herdsman

भाकेष्वह्रवातेषु सप्तसु दिशै पँचों तरेषूतरै (सै)
पातीद्रायुधना स्ति (क्षि) कृष्णनृषजे भीवसंभे विक्षणा ।
पूर्वा भीमदवति (न्ति) भूमृति नृषे वत्सादिराजे (ने) परा सीयाणामधिमदले जययुने वीरे वरादे (हे) विना ति) ॥ ऽ। ॥

^{1.} Mazumdar, op.cit., E.I., XVIII, p. 102.

Cf. Pathak, "A Passage in the Harivamsa relating to the Guptas," I.A., XV, p. 141.

Dr. Bhandarkar has withdrawn his objection to the reading and interpretation of this passage by Dr. Fleet in editing the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa, E.I., XVIII, p. 239. Dr. Bhandarkar had proposed to separate Vatsaraja from the king of Avanti. Contra.Ghosh, I.H.Q., VII, p. 753. It is now idle to press this point.

caught the man, and did with the same as he had done to his dog. Then he waited till the fire was extinguished, and found both the man and the dog, but turned into gold. He took the dog with him, but left the man on the spot.

Now some peasant happened to find it. He cut off a finger, and went to a fruit-seller who was called Ranka, i.e. the poor, because he was an utter pauper, and evidently near bankraptcy. After the peasant had been bought from him what he wanted, he returned to the golden man, and then he found that in the place where the cut off finger had been, a new finger had grown. He cut off a second time, and bought again from the same fruit-seller all that he wanted. But when the fruit-seller asked him whence he had the finger, he was stupid enough to tell him. So Ranka went out to the body of the Siddha, and brought it on a carriage to his house. He stayed in his old abode, but managed by degrees to buy the whole town. The king Vallabha desired to own the same town, and asked him to cede it to him for money, but Ranka declined. Being however afraid of the king's resentment, he fled to the lord of Almansura, made him presents of money, and asked him to help him by a naval force. The lord of than Almansura complied with his desire, and assisted him. So he made a night-attack upon the king Vallabha, and killed him and his people, and destroyed his town."1

It will be seen from this account that the fall of Valabhi

^{1.} Sachat, Alberuni's India, pp. 192-193.

was associated in mens' minds with the repeated incursions of the Tajjikas, which must have eventualy brought about its end by thoroughly exhausting its resources.

As a fitting epitaph of this dynasty we may here cite the description of the last ruler Siladitya VI, as given in his Alina plates, a description in which the noblest qualities of the kings of this line are crystallized, qualities which made the period of their rule an era of prosperity to the country over which they swayed their sceptre: "the glorious Dhrubhata, born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of

^{1.} Tod relates (in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthand, I. 258.) what befall the Valabhi queen after she had escaped the sack of Valabhi. According to his account she was the daughter of the Paramar prince of Chandravati (history of this dynasty is very little known, except the account given in the Somesvara prasasti which mentions its existence). It is said of her that she had been to pilgrimage when the city was wrecked by the foreigners. She took refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia where she gave birth to a son. Before committing Sati, she confided the infant to a Brahmin lady named Kamalavati who was staying at Birnagar, charging her with the upbringing of the young prince, who was to be educated as a Brahmin but to be married a Rajput lady. The legend further says that from this boy the Guhil dynasty of Merwar sprung up. This, however, is far from the truth as has already been seen in a previous chapter. On the authority of Baxi, Safar Nama Ye Suleman, Prof. Nadvi (Ahmadabad) believes that the Rastrakutas were responsible for the Maitraka downfall. The enemy troops according to him consisted chiefly of Muslims, and hence the tradition that Valabhi was destroyed by the Mlenchas. On the other hand Mr. Mahipat Ram Ruparam in his historical novel Vanaraj Chāvadā conjunctures that the fall of Valabhi was brought about by the Gurjaras of the Panjab. But this is merely a figment of the mind of the novelist and nothing more.

great happiness, - who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (his) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon; - who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (vedas) who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness......; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world, whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised for and wide on the earth; - who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person, who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth."

On the fall of the Maitrakas there viceroys at Vamanasthali and Girinagar became independent and established their own dynasties.

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., C.I.I., III, p. 189. Soddhala in his Udayasundari katha 1026 A.D.) while tracing his descent from Kaladitya, the brother of Siladitya (VI) of Valabhi says that the
latter prevailed against his enemies save Dharmapala, the lord
of the North (Uttarapatha). The conflict of Siladitya with
Dharmapala mentioned here need not be taken seriously. The
clash between Vatsaraja of the Gurjara-Pratihara and Dharmapala
took place after 783 A.D., If, however, evidence be forthcoming to substantiate this alleged conflict between Dharmapala
and Siladitya, this will presuppose an alliance between Vatsaraja and the latter in the course of which Siladitya marched
out of his kingdom wa across Malava to meet Dharmapala on whom
Vatsaraja had declared war. Cf. Altekar, Rastrakutas, pp. 55ff.

^{2.} Altekar, "The Solanki Dynasty at Junagadha," Ancient Cities and
Towns in Gujurat-Kathiawad, p. 41; Sastri, Gujaratha Itihasic
Sadhana, p. 190; Watson, Legends of the Earlier Chudasama of
Junagadha, I.A., II, 312. There is a Jaina legend connected
with the fall of Valabhi: According to it a sage Dhoondulee
Mull "come with a single disciple to Wullubheepoor. The holy
man made his residence at the foot of the hill called Ishalwa.

near Chamardee, a spot which was at that time in the very outskirts of Wullubhee. The disciple went into the city to seek alms, but received none; he then cut wood in the jungle, which he took into the city and sold, and thus procuring money, purchase flour. No one, however, would make it into bread for him, until at last a potter's wife performed this service. After several days had passed on in this manner, the hair on the disciple's hear began to be worn away, from this continually carrying loads. The sage asked the reason, and received for answer, "Mighty Sovereign in this city there is no one who gives alms, I am therefore compelled to cut wood and sell it, and a potter's wife makes bread for me - in the labour my hair is worn away". The holymen said "I will myself go today to beg". He did so, but with the exception of the potter's wife no one gave alms. The saint became very angry; he sent his disciple to tell the potter, . "Take your family with you and leave the city. The very day it shall be overwhelmed" ... the saint having taken into his hands an earthern vessel, reserved it, pronouncing the world, - "city be you overthrown, and thy wealth turned into dust", (Pattan so dattan). In the moment Wullubhee was destroyed". Rawlinson, Forbes' Ras Mala, I, pp.17-18. The truth in this legend has been douted; for as Mr. Parahkhi has observed in his work on Gujerāt history in Marāthi (Gurjara Desāchā Itihāsa, p. 14). The kings and people of Valabhi were liberal and charitable, an observation which is also borne out by the Valabhi records.

One more tradition (mentioned in the <u>Puratana-Prabandha</u> Sangraha, para 193,) makes the Mlenchhas responsible for the fall of Valabhi. It further condemns the extremely greedy nature of its subjects which resulted in their indifference to religious duties like agnihotras. The fact that a poor Brahmana who had asked his wife to beg some Ghee for the Agnihotras ceremony and was given urine of an ass instead is given there as an instance in point. In the belief that it was pure ghee, the Brahmana used it in the ceremony and was surprised to find gold at the place of the hotra. From this habit of using ass's urine in the place of ghee with the desire of getting gold. Thus the greed for gold too possession of these people, and they refrained from offering sacrifices with the result that they were defeated by the Mlechhas since they were not backed up by the spiritual force of religion. (Cf. Rajasekharasuri, Puratana Prabandha Sangraha, para 193ff. edited by Jinavijayaji).

THE VALABHI ERA.

Curiously enough the Maitraka kings, in dating their documents, did not make use of the name by which the era in which they lived and prospered is known to us to-day, and which is now closely associated with their rule. They contented themselves with their giving the bare Samvat or year of the inscription. The reason for this seems to be shrouded in mustry and forms the subject-matter of an interesting controversy among present day scholars. Indeed, it has been doubted whether the Maitrakas of Valabhi had anything to do with the institution of this ear at all.

The earliest known of their grants bears the date <u>Samvat</u> 183¹, and was issued by king Dronasimha, who was the third in succession, but the first <u>de-jure</u> ruler of that line. The last, dated 477², belongs to king Siladitya VI (VII), who was probably also the last of the Maitrakas. From these copper-plate grants themselves, it is not possible to say whether the era was something totally new of their own creation, or one already in existence at the time of their assumption of sway over Valabhi. The most important and definite sources of information for ascertaining

^{1.} Barnett, *Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Valabhi king Dronasimha*, E.I., XVI, pp. 18 ff; Jackson, "A Valabhi Grant of the year 183, " J.B.B.R.A.S., XX, pp. 1 ff; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 16.

^{2.} Fleet, "The Alina copper-plates of king Siladitya VII", C.I.I., III, pp. 182 ff; Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 79; Acharya, op.cit. I, No. 96.

the initial year of the Valabhi era are the two inscriptions found at Verāwal, in Kāthiāwād, dated respectively in the years 927 and 945 of the Valabhī Samvat. The second of these also dated according to three other well-established eras, giving three different dates equivalent to the Valabhī Samvat 945. These years are, the Hijari 662, the Vikrama 1320, and and the Simha 1512. From a comparison of these dates it is clear that the Valabhī era comes 375 years later than the well-known Vikrama era, or in other words, it commenced in the 375th year of the Vikrama Samvat, i.e. in about 319 A.D., and was still in current usage during the thirteenth century of the Christian era, at least in this part of India. 3

Assuming, that the Valabhi era and the era mentioned in the Maitraka grants the same, it would follow that the Maitraka dynasty started on its career about 183 years after its commencement. For, although Bhatarka, the founder of the Maitraka line, established his power at Valabhi some years before this, he and his immediate successor continued to be feudatories of the Guptas, and

^{1.} Hultzsch, "A Grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarat Dated 1264", I.A.:
XI, pp. 241-45; Keilhorn, "The Verawal Image Inscription,"
E.I., III, pp. 303 ff.
2. Ibid.

^{3.} The date in the Verawal inscription of V.S. 927 is given as:
"Srimad-Valabhi-Sa(m)vat 927 varshe Phalguna su di 2 Saume".
This gives 'Valabhi Samvat 927, current; the month Phalguna; the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight and presumably Monday. If the day is read as Monday, then the corresponding date falls on 19th February 1246 A.D.

it is Dronasimha who was the first independent king and the real founder of the dynasty. The question naturally arises whether the Valabhi era bearing as it does the name of the capital city of he the Maitrakas, originated with its foundation. such a suggestion would seem to be justified by the reluctance of the kings to mama use the name of the era in dating their grants. But both the copper-plate records and the bardic tradition are unanimous in attributing the foundation of city of Valabhi to Bhatarka. Could he or his immediate successor, like him a vassal of the Guptas, have dared to start an era of their own while continuing in their subordinate position? Even if we assume that the capital city existed before Bhatavka and his line, there is hardly any evidence worth the name to & justify our belief that it had attained a position of pre-eminence sufficient to have an era named after it. Moreover, as we have already noted, the Maitrakas do not specify the era in dating their records. Such a practice of giving the bare date with the name of the era understood could have come into fashion only when a particular era had already become well-established in country-wide usage. An instance in point may be cited from our own practice of giving the bare figures '1946' without naming the words of 'the Christian Era'. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the Maitrakas may have adopted an era started by some other ruling family and already current in Surastra at the time when they established their rule.

^{1.} Watson, op.cit., II, pp. 313 ff.

What was then this era, which was current in Kathiawad about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.? The Junagadha rock inscriptions offer a clue to the solution of our problem. One of these inscriptions belongs to the time of the Mahakshatrapa ruler, Rudradaman, and is dated in the year 72 of the Saka era. 1 Clearly, then, the saka era was current in Kathiawad during the Kshatrapa period i.e. from the second to the fourth century A.D. After this the country passed under the sway of the Guptas, and the inscription of Skandagupta found on the same rock, and dated in G.S.138 is evidence enough that the Gupta era was current during this period. After the death of Skandagupta the Gupta power over this part of the country declined. It was at this time, as we have seen in the chapters on political history, that Extern Bhatarka established a separate dynasty at Valabhi. Now, the last date known to have been recorded by kk the Guptas in Surastra is G.S. 138 (i.e. 457 A.D.) and the earliest of the Maitraka kings, given by the Bhamodar Mohota plate of Dronasimha, is 183 (i.e. 502 A.D.). The interval of forty-five years between the two dates is long enough to fit in the two predecessors of Dronasimha, Bhatarka and Dharasena I, the latter of whom appears to have ruled only for a few years. Accordingly, we may take it that the era used by the Maitraka kings was the same as that used by their immediate predecessors, a conclusion supported by the fact that the initial year of both the eras was 319 A.D. 3

^{1.} Acharya, op.cit., I. No. 7.

^{2.} Ibid., No. 15.

We might ask ourselves at this stage why the Gupta era as used by the Maitraka kings came to be called by the Valabhi name in the post-Maitraka period. An answer to this question is attempted by Alberuni in his account of India. During his stay in ke the country (1030 A.D.), he became acquainted with the different eras current here, and he offers the following remarks regarding them: "People have given up using them (the eras called Kālayavana, Pāndavakāla, Kalikāla, and so on) and have adopted the eras of

- (1) Sri Harsha
- (2) Vikramaditya
- (3) Saka
- (4) Valabha, and
- (5) Gupta. "1

A description of each follows, and regarding the Valabhi era, with which we are here concerned, he says: "the era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhi, nearly 30 yojanas south of Anhilavara. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Saka era. People use it in this mx way. They first put down the year of the Sakakala, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 (216 + 25 = 241). The remainder is the year of the Valabha era. And further, comparing it with the Vikrama era, *the

^{1.} Sachan, Alberuni's India, II, p. 5.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 7

epoch of the era of Saka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya". He also gives the following formula to ascertain the date according to either era when one of them only is mentioned: "The year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:-

- (1) To the year 1488 of the era of Sri Harsha,
- (2) To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramaditya,
- (3) To the year 953 of the Sakakala,
- which is identical with the Guptakāla. Alberuni, however, accounts for the change of name from Gupta to Valabha with the remark that The era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhi. This explanation, of course, does not appear convincing. For one thing, there has been no king of this name among the Maitrakas. For another, the traitor Ranka who, according to Alberuni, betrayed king Valabha to the Ārabs, actually lived, as known from Jaina tradition, during the reign of Siladitya. What is not shown anywhere is that Siladitya had the appellation of Valabha. Possibly, either Alberuni himself, coming some three centuries after the last king Siladitya, or the Hindus from whom he got the tradition made some confusion between the

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 6.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 7.

^{3.} Ibid. A correct result may be obtained by taking Saka Samvat 1167 expired.

king of Valabhi and 'King Valabha', or it may be that Alberuni arrived at his conclusion by merely arguing on the analogy of the other eras which go for the most part by the meme of some tribe or person. To our own mind, the real reason for different names seems to be that though, as pointed out by Dr. Fleet, the two eras were identical for the most part, the Valabhi era was nonetheless, different in so far as it had certain peculiarities of its own.

These peculiarities can be ascertained only from the dates given in the Maitraka records. These records **x** give the year, the month, the fortnight, and the lunar day (tithi) as prescribed by the Hindu Dharmasastras. The first word 'Sam' is an abbreviation of 'Samvatsara' i.e. the year; next, the number of the year is given in figures; then comes the name of the month which in all cases, is followed by the name of the fortnight & 'Su' in tase of 'Sukla-pakshasya' i.e. bright half, and 'ba' for 'bahula-pakshasya' in case of the dark half of the month; last of all comes the date (tithi) given in figures. These dates, however, do not directly helf in ascertaining the local peculiarities and in telling us, for instance, whether the era was current or had expired, whether it was Chaitrādi or Kārtikādi, whether months were purnimanta or amanta i.e. ending with the full moon or the

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., (introduction), pp. 72-3.

^{2.} Kane, op.cit., II, pp. 837 ff.

^{3.} The week days are not recorded in the Maitraka grants along with the dates, otherwise that would have been mx an important factor to decide this question.

new moon, and so on. We have to find them with the aid of test cases like those of eclipses and the intercalary months that are mentioned in these records. We have in all four such cases. The Bantia grant of king Dharasena II records a solar-eclipse (sūryoparaga) on the new moon day of Vaisakha in the year 254¹; the Kaira grant of king Dharasena IV records a second-Margasira (Dvi-Marga) in the year 330³, the Vala grant of king Siladitya III records a second Asadha in the year 343; and the Jesar grant of the same markex pre ruler provides us with a second Pausa in the year 367.

Now, applying the Chaitradi system of the Gupta era to all these cases, according to the epoch of 319-20 A.D., we might obtain solutions to some of our questions. The years corresponding to 254, 330, 343 and 367 of the Valabhi era, will be 573-4, 649-50, 662-3 and 676-7 A.D. respectively. First of all, as we find it recorded in the calendar, a solar eclipse did occur in Vaisakha

^{1.} Acharya, op.cit., I, No.44; The year of this plate was first read as 257 by Mr. Diskalkar, (Wat, Mus. Rept., 1925-6, p. 13) but is now corrected by Dr. Dikshit as 254, cf. E.I., XXI, p. 79

^{2.} Buhler, "The Kaira grant of Dharasena IV," <u>I.A.</u>, XV, pp. 335 ff; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 73.

^{3.} Diskakkar, op.cit., (N.S.) I, p. 37; Acharya, op.cit., I, No.78.

^{4.} Ibid. No. 92; Bhandarkar, A.S.W.C. 1915-6, p. 55. Samuel 1915. An assumption that the solar months were of unequal length forms the basis of the actrine of the Surya-Siddhanta which is current at present.

A Intercalation of a month is indicated by the mention of the word 'Dvi' i.e. Dvitiya before the name of the month.

of the year 573 A.D. if the months are named according to the Purnimanta system (i.e. ending with the full moon day). Similarly we find Sravana instead of Asadha intercalated in 662 A.D. we get a difference of 319 years between the two eras for the two summer months, Vaisakha and Sravana. As regards the other two cases it must be noted that the months Margasira and Pausa can hardly be intercalated in the present system of true-intercalation as the lunar months are generally longer than the corresponding solar months in winter. However, any month could be intercalated in the old system of mean-intercalations, as a mean lunar month is shorter than a corresponding mean solar month in all seasons. I As the Valabhi grants record the winter months as intercalary, we have to calculate their dates as belonging to the system of meanintercalation like that found in the Brahma-siddhanta. From such calculations we note that the month Pausa and not Margasira was intercalated in the year 648 A.D. A similar calculation for the year V.S. 357 brings an intercalary month of Magha Ginstead of Pausa) in the year 605 A.D. (i.e. 367 + 318) and not

^{1.} The mean system is said to have been in use upto the time of Sripati (1030 A.D.), who protested against it in his Siddhanta.-Sekhara (cf. Fleet, Op.cit.(Introduction).

^{2.} Bendall, A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, p.76. In this book Mr. Bendall has given the results of calculation of Dr. Schram (Privaté docent fur chronologische Astronomie at the Vienna University) and of Dr. Adams, according to which winter months also intercalated.

^{3.} Sewell, Indian Calender. Having satisfied with this result Dr. Bühler withdrew his objection against the view of accepting the epoch of the Guptas as that of the Valabhi Samuat. Bühler, op.cit., XV, p. 335. Fillar, Tanahaman Tanahaman.

in 666 or 667 A.D. (i.e. 367 + 319 or 320). These two cases indicate that in winter the difference between the epoch of the Valabhi era and the Christian era was a period of 318 years instead of 319-320. Our calculations thus give us the intercalamy month uniformly one month later than the date of the records in all the three cases. But we would not be justified in rejecting this epoch merely because of this circumstance. normal system the intercalary months are named according to the Minadi rule so distinguished from the fact that at the beginning of the year in this system the sun stands on the sign of Mina. The first month is called Chaitra, the second Vaisakha, and son on, according to the signs occurring at their commencement. Now the old Mesadi (Aries) rule of Brahmagupta lavs down that intercalated months should be named after the preceding and not after succeeding natural months, 3 and the Mesadi signs occur at the beginning of each natural month. This is entirely different in the Minadi system where the intercalary months are named after the succeeding months. For instance when the in the Minadi

^{1.} Pai, "The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras," J.I.H. XII. p. 223.

^{2.} Bhaskaracharya, Siddhanta Siromani. p. 49.

^{3.} The order of the twelve rasis is then Mesa, Vrasabha, Mithuna, Karka, Simha, Kanya, Tula, Vrksika, Dhana, Makara, Kumbha and Mina, and the corresponding months according to the Mesadi system may be named Chaitra, Vaisakha, Jyestha, Asadha, Sravana, Bhadrapada, Asvin, Kartika, Margasira, Pausa, Magha, and F Falguna respectively.

system the first Pausa is an intercalary month in the Mesadi system, it is the second Margasira or the Adhika-Margasira.

Thus if the latter system be accepted for the Valabhi era, all the three intercalary months of the Maitraka records correspond exactly to the intercalary months in the corresponding years 662, 648 and 635 A.D., and the months which are named Pausa, Śravana and Magha according as they commence in Dhanus, Karka and Makara rāśis (Signs) respectively, would be re-named Margasira, Asadha and Pausa according as they end in the signs of Dhanus, Karka and Makara.

Next, the difference of one year observed in the cases of the Margasira and the menths of Pausa the Valabhi grants may be explained by shifting the Chaitradi years of the Gupta Samvat

^{1.} In the Amanta system (so called because of the months ending with the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon i.e. with the new-moon), the intercalary month precedes the natural month, and so the intercalary month is first and the natural month the second of the two; in the Purnimanta system without Mesadi

rules the intercalary-month interposes itself between the dark and the bright half of the natural month; while in the Purnimanta system with Mesadi rule the first two fortnights make the natural month while the next two an intercalary one. Fleet, op.cit., (Introduction), p. 94; Sewell, and Dikshit, The

Fleet, op.cit., (Introduction), p. 94; Sewell, and Dikshit, the Indian Calendar, p. 27; Sewell, Indian Chronology, p. 11; Dr. Schram as quoted by Dr. Buhler, op.cit., XV, p. 338.
 Here it is important to note that great simificance is attached by the Dharmasastras, to making a grant in an intercalary month, for it is believed that by that practice, greater Punya is obtained. Hence the Valabhi grants made in any of the Dvitiya-months may have probably been an intercalary according to the Mesadi system rather than that of the Minadi system of naming the intercalary month previous to the natural month.

into the Kartikadi years, a system which was then in current usage in Kathiawad, as at present. The commencement of the year may be taken five months earlier than in the Gupta max era. Now, as we have seen above, the exact difference between the epoch of the Gupta and that of the Saka era is 241 years according to Alberuni's account, while according to the Kartikadi Valabhi era it would be 240 years and 7 months.

we may well ask ourselves how some of the peculiarities native to Surastra found their way into the working of the Gupta mx era. As stated by Mr. Sen Gupta, it is possible that before 499 A.D. the Gupta year started with the month Pausa, and it was only after this year that the Guptas adopted the system of the Chaitradi year following Brahmagupta's theory. After this, the difference between the Gupta era and the Christian era from Chaitra to December was 319 years, and that from January to Falguna 320 years. This epoch is not quite applicable to the Valabhi Samvat between which and the Christian era according to the calculation given above, the difference in case of the winter months was 318 and in summer it was 319. The probable reason for this change may be that when in the year 499 A.D. the Gupta era of Northern India underwent a change, the Guptas had lost their

Sena Gupta "The Gupta Era", J.R.A.S.B., Letters, VIII, pp. 41 ff No. 1 (1942).

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} In his article on 'The Gupta Era' Mr. Sent Gupta has once again proved with the test cases of the Gupta era that it was equal to 319-20 A.D. at cf. op.et loc.cit.

influence over the Maitraka kings who, possibly did not like to follow their example. In their turn they may have preferred to adopt the system current in Surastra over which they ruled; and unlike the Guptas they had their capital at the very centre of their dominions instead of at a far of extremity.

The Devali grant of the Rastrakuta king Govinda IV made to a Brahmana of Valabhi, records a solar-eclipse in the Valabhi Samvat 500². Unfortunately the month, the fortnight and the date of the inscription, which would have been an additional useful test case to ascertain the epoch of this era, is not deciphered. However, working on the basis of 318-9 A.D. as the initial date of the Valabhi Savat, we do find that a solar eclipse occurred on the Amavasya day in the month of Asadha i.e. Purnimanta Śravana Amavasya, on Sunday, 26th of June (500 + 319) 819 A.D. This would strengthen the above theory⁴.

Our conclusions are that the Valabhi era was Kartikadi and Puranimanta; that the epoch of its year falls in about 318-319

^{1.} Cf. Chapters on Political History.

^{2.} Mody, "A Rastrakuta Grant of Govinda IV of the Valabhi Sam. 500", Bhavanagar Samachar, pt. 4, No. 24, p. 3 (December 1944).

^{3.} From the months Kartika (i.e. 4th October 218) to December of the year 318 A.D. 1st January 319 to 22nd October 319 (i.e. Asvin) only one solar-eclipse had taken place on Sunday the 26th of June 319, which should be taken as the date of issuing this grant according to our data.

^{4.} Besides this we find about four inscriptions of the nineth and the tenth centuries of the Valabhi era (Bhandarkar's Nos. 1379-1382), but as they give the bare date without any specific reference to the name of the day or the like, none of them help to solve the above question.

A.D., that a Mēṣādi instead of Minādi rule was applied in naming its months; that its year commenced earlier than the Chaitrādi year by five months; and lastly that it included a system of mean-intercalation. 1

Unfortunately, some scholars do not accept the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi eras even as approximately near or equal to one another. Among the early of them Mr. Thomas tried to apply the Saka era to the Gupta dates and suggested that the Vikrama era was probably one which would be identical with the Valabhi era of the Maitraka grants. Dr. Bhau Daji and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar tried to A identify the Valabhi era with the Saka era. But on noticing the chronological inconsistency they changed their view and accepted the theory that the Valabhi era is the same as the Gupta era. On identifying the Valabhi king Dhruvapata mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with Siladitya VII, Dr. Bühler suggested that the era used by the

^{1.} In the true system of intercalation "all the years from 1 A.C. down to 2000 A.C. the month of Mārgaśira never intercalated, save in one and the only one year 1296 A.C., whereas according to the system of mean intercalations, however, there are frequent intercalations of Mārgaśira, no less frequent than those of the other lunar months." Evidently therefore it is this system that seems to have been adopted in the date of the Valabhi grants. Cf. Pai, op.cit., XII, p. 222.

^{2.} Thomas, Essays on Indian Antiquities, I, p. 276; Thomas, "Epoch of the Gupta", J.R.A.S., XIII, p. 524; Thomas, J.B.A.S., XXIV, p. 371.

^{3.} Bhau Daji, op.cit., J.B.B.R.A.S., VII, p. 236; Bhandarkar, J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 72.

^{4.} Bhandarkar, "Correspondence and Miscellanea", I.A., III, p. 303; Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, p. 97.

Valabhī kings commenced shortly before or after the year 200 A.D. 1
Dr. Cunningham, who also applied his mind to the subject maintained that the era mentioned in the Valabhī grants commenced in 166-7
A.D. 2
In the year 1888, Dr. Fleet, writing his book on the Gupta Inscription, discussed the problem at length, and rightly discarded the various theories and gave his decision in favour of Alberuni's statement. 3
We, however, know that some exceptions are still there, and scholars like Dr. Shamsastri, Mr. Pai Mr. Mookerjee and Mr. Shankar have p opposed the views of Dr. Fleet. Dr. Shamasastri advocated the epoch of 200-201 A.D. Mr. Pai assigned 272-273 A.D. as the epoch of the Gupta era and 334-337 A.D. for the Valabhī era; lastly, from the year 1932 onward Mr. Mookerjee would have us accept the year 58 B.C. as the initial year of this era; and he has tried to identify it with the well-known Vikrama era.

According to all these suggestions the initial date of the Valabhi era may vary from 56 B.C. to 337 A.D. and the dates of the Maitraka inscriptions may fall between 127 and 34% A.D. (according to the epoch of 56-7 B.C.), or between 520 and 784 A.D. (according

7. Shankar, N.I.A., III, p. 419; J.I.H., XX, p. 71.

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 79.

^{2.} Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, p. X,-Arch.Sur.Ind., X.pp. 111 ff. Furgusson, J.R.A.S., XII, p. 259.

^{3.} Fleet, op.cit., III, Introduction, pp. 69-95.

^{4.} Sham Sastri, An. Rept. My. Arch. Dept., 1923-4, pp. 7 ff.

^{5.} Pai, "The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras," J.I.H., XI. pt. 2, pp. 175 ff; XII, pp. 215-40.

^{6.} Mookerjee, "The Geneology and Chronology of the Early Imperial Guptas," J.I.H., XX, pp. 134-56; XXI, pp. 34-56. Mookerjee, "The Krta Era", I.A., XV, p. 335. A.B.O.R.I., XXII, pp. 264-71.

to the epoch of 334-337 A.D.). This wide gulf of four centuries can be considerably reduced by taking into account contemporary evidence of the Valabhi period. The account of Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in c. 640 A.D., reveals that the Valabhi kingdom was in its flourishing state at the time of his tax visit to the court of the Maitraka king Dhruvabhata. This ruler is described by him as wson-in-law of the great Harsavardhana who ruled in the first half of the seventh century. Then again epigraphical evidence like the copper-plate grants of the Gurjara kings Dadda (629-41 A.D.) and Jayabhatta IV (c. 735 A.D.) support the view that the Valabhi kingdom was in its flourishing state round about the seventh century of the Christian era, and that the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas were contemporaries. For, the Navasari grant of Jayabhatta III dated K.S. 456 i.s. c. 705 A.D., accounts for the glory of Dadda II that was achieved by him "by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harsadeva. * This statement clearly indicates that the Valabhi kings was a contemporary both of the Gurjara king Dadda II (629-41 A.D.) and of king Harsa of the Puspabhuti dynasty. Thus, there seems to be no difficulty in placing this Valabhi king in about the seventh century. The Junagadha Rock inscription of

^{1.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 269; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 246.

^{2.} Bühler, "Inscription fom Kavi," I.A., XI V, pp. 109 ff.

^{3.} Bhagwanlal Indraji, "A New Gurjara Copper-plate Grant", I.A. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

^{4.} Ihid

Rudradaman, also, dated the Saka year 72 i.e. 150 A.D. 1 shows that Surastra was ruled by the Kshatrapas in the second century of the Christian era. Likewise, too, the evidence of other sources like the Kshatrapa coins shows that they ruled over this part of the country from Saksamut41 to 310 i.e. 119-388 A.D. kingdom, as seen from their records, also extended from Anandapura in the north to Khētaka and sometimes even upto Bharukachchha in the south, and from the western coast of Kathiawad in the west, to They could not have ruled over these provinces Ujain in the east. at ke the same time. and that the sake sway prevailed over them. Hence, it is not possible to equate the Maitraka era with the Wata Vikrama era of 56 B.C. Nor can the year 200-201 A.D. be accepted as the initial year of the Valabhi era, inasmuch as it would then assign the year (447+200) 647 A.D. to the reign of the last king Sīlāditya who must have ruled at least upto 725 A.D. as we are bound to infer from the above mentioned Gurjara grant.3 Lastly, the inconsistencies to which we expose ourselves, if we accept either the epoch of 334-7 A.D. or that of 272-273 A.D. may be seen by adopting these epochs and examining the astronomical test-cases provided by the Valabhi grants. Accordingly, out of the four test cases mentioned above, the year 254 when the solar eclipse occurred would correspond either with 52% 526-7 A.D. or with 588-91 A.D. There was no solar eclipse in 526-7 A.D. in

^{1.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Cam. Hist. of India, I, p. 585.

^{3.} Bhagwanlal Indraji, op.et loc.cit.

Vaisakha, according to Mr. Pillai's table. Mr. Shankar, however, notes that there was a solar eclipse in Purnimanta Vaisakha of this year but it was not visible in India. This explanation is not very convincing, as grants were particularly made on the eclipse day to get additional merit as recommended by the Dharmasastras, 1 and/the eclipse was not visible in the country the writer of the grant would not have given as much importance to mentioning it as he has. As for the years 588, 589, 590 or even 591 (according to Mr. Pai's suggestion of the epoch of 334-7), there was no solar eclipse in Vaisakha during any of them. Mr. Pai, however, taking the old reading of the grant as 257 gives the date as 592 A.D. when aselar eclipse took place in the Purnimanta Vaisaki Next, according to the epoch of 272-3 A.D. corresponding test cases of intercalary months of the V.Sam. 330, 343 and 387 did occur in the years 602-3, 615-6 and 629-30 respectively. Lastly, these years 330, 343 and 357 correspond to 664-7, 667-80 and 690-4 A.D. respectively, according to the epoch of 334-7 A.D. The result is a difference of 335, 337-8, 337-8 and 338 years respectively in each of these four cases which is difficult to explain away.

Mr. Mookerjee has raised doubts as to the acceptance of the Valabhi era as given by Alberuni on several grounds. His first objection is that the Dhinki grant dated Vik. S. 794 or 738 A.D. mentions Jaikadeva of Bhumli as the lord of Surastra, while in fact

^{1.} Kane, op.cit., II, p. 852.

^{2.} Mookerjee, op.et loc.cit.

^{3.} Altekar, "Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli," E.I. XXVI, pp. 189 ff.

the Maitraka king Siladitya was ruling over this part of the country in 738 A.D. (V.S. 418). In connection with this it should be noted that the Dhinki grant mentioned above have been proved to be a forgery. In fact, the Saindhava family to which king Jaikadeva I and II of the main branch as also king Jaika of the junior branch belonged, seems to have flourished in the sixty century of the Gupta era. And, even supposing that they flourished from Vik.S. 415 to 600, as asserted by Mr. Mookerjee, it is impossible that Jaika's plate may have been dated in Vik.S. 794, as given in the Dhinki grant. Another argument put forth by Mr. Mookerjee is that the king Siladitya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang flourished from c. 526-576 A.D., whereas even the first Siladitya of the Maitraka dynasty flourished in the years 595-615 A.D. according to the epoch of 319-20 A.D. Now we know for a fact that king Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Siladitya I was the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang. This can be reconciled only if we take the epoch of c. 319-20 A.D. As regards the years of Siladitya reign Hiuen Tsiang gathered his information from the local records only, which may have been erroneous in their exact details. We know moreover, that the Chinese traveller visited Valabhi in c. 640 A.D. and at that time as he has recorded, about sixty years had passed since Siladitya's rule had come to an end. This will take Siladitya to the period of about (640-60) c. 580 A.D. which is

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, Buhler, "Dhinki Grant of king Jaikadeva", I.A., XII, p. 151 2. Watters, op.et.loc.cit.

not very far from fact. Now, taking the Valabhi era to be the same as the Vikrama era (of 56-57 B.C.), the reign of even the last Siladitya falls round about 391 A.D. (447-56 A.D.) and not anywhere in the neighbourhood of the period of Hiuen Tsiang's visit. Again, it is evident that the last Siladitya cannot be taken into consideration especially in this instance, as he had no nephew, called Dhruvasena, to succeed him.

Mr. Mookerjee further argues that Siladitya the fifth, thedescendant of Guhadatta of the Gohilot dynasty, flourished in c.

Vik. Sam. 703 (646 A.D.); Guhilot, therefore, must have ruled in
about Vik. Sam. 600 (544 A.D.). Bardic tradition refers to this

Guhadatta as a posthumous son of the last king Siladitya of Valabhi,
who is known to have been ruling in V.S. 447¹, but could not have
been alive in 766 A.D., as would follow if we accept the epoch of

c. 319-20 A.D. But the bardic account connecting the Maitrakas
with the Gohilots, does not seem to be correct². According to
this tradition, on which Mr. Mookerjee's inferrence is based, the
last Siladitya should be dated in about 520 A.D., while according
of
to the epoch of Vik. era, his date falls in (447-56) 390 A.D.

Mr. Mookerjee then takes his ground on the fact that the name of Valabhi was not mentioned in the list of the Victims of the Arab raids in the accounts of the seventh or the eighth centuries although its fall is assigned to that period. This statement does not seem to be correct as we find it definitely mentioned

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, pp. 79 ff; Fleet, op.cit., III, pp. 173 ff.
Achaya, op.cit., I, No. 96.

^{2.} Cf. Ch. VI of the Political Section; Oza, op.et loc.cit.

in the Jaina works and Arabic records that the two Arabic raids of the years 760 and 776 A.D. were directed against Valabhi.

Further, Mr. Mokerjee points out that the three Kaira grants, one of the Chalukya prince Vijayaraja dated K.S. 394 (c. 642 A.D.)2 and the two of the Gurjara king Dadda II dated in K.S. 380 and 385 (628 and 633 A.D.) respectively, were discovered at Kaira while the Khetaka Ahara i.e. the present Kaira district was included in the Valabhi kingdom at least upto V.S. 246, in the sixth century A.D. But a mere findspot of the Gurjara and Chalukya records cannot be taken into account as proof of the fact that that particular part of the country was included in As regards the argument of the same scholar their dominions.4 that Kaira and Anandapura were appanages of the Malava kingdom in 640 A.D. as known from Hiuen Tsiang's account, and not under the sway of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, it must be noted that the statement made by Hiuen Tsiang himself and confirmed by the Manju-Bri-Mula-Kalpa and the Valabhi epigraph would clearly

^{1.} Elliot and Dowson, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 102.

^{3.} Ibid., No. 109; Fleet, op.cit., XIII, pp. 82 ff.
4. In fact the villages mentioned in both these inscriptions are clearly out of the limits of the Maitraka kingdom. Though Vijayapura, the victorious camp of Vijayaraja, has not yet been ascertained, nor the village donaged viz. Pariyaya:
Jambusara where the resipients lived has been identified wit the present Jambusara "almost in a direct line between Kaira and Broach, about 50 miles to the south by east of Kaira, at 25 miles to the north by west of Broach." As for Nandipuri and other places mentioned in the Guriara grant, they are and other places mentioned in the Gurjara grant, they are all in the Broach district.

^{5.} Acharya, Ibid., No. 110; Fleet, Ibid., XIII, pp. 88 ff.

^{6.} Watters, op.et loc.cit. 7. Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 24.

show that Malava itself was part of Valabhi empire in c.640 A.D.

The fact that the Abhona plates of Sankaragana were issued from Ujjaini in K.S.347 (595 A.D.)² cannot stand as a reasonable fbjection to the supposition that the Maitraka king Kharagraha's issuing a grant from the place in V.S.297 4616 A.D.)3. interval of about 21 years is quite sufficient for the power over this country to have changed hands. Even if we say that the Kalachurists held their sway as long as 601-10 A.D., the Maitraka rulers may easily be taken to have had possession of the same country five years after their disappearance.

Mr. Mookerjee-'s contention that the absence of any reference to Valabhi, in the contemporary inscriptions of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, excepting in the grants of Jayabhatta III and Jayabhatta IV, creates difficulties in the way of accepting the epoch of c. 319-20 A.D. for the Valabhi era is untenable. The references, though few, clearly indicate that the Valabhi kingdom flourished in the sixth, seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. and not in the second third and the fourth centuries as maintained by him.

As regards the same scholar's argument of tallying dates of the Maitrakas and the Jaina work, the Satrunjaya-mahatuna, we know that the dates assigned by most of the Jaina worksto the

^{1.} Gadre, op.et loc.cit., Diskalkar, op.et loc.cit.
2. Pathaka op.cit., IX, pp. 297 ff.

^{3.} Gadre, op.et loc.cit.

egents in the history of Valabhi, differ from one another, and hence should not be taken as authentic. 1

Again, his objection to the epoch of 319-20 A.D. on paleographical gounds does not appear to be of weight. The grants of the Gurjaras, the Chālukyas and the Rāstrakūtas bore a close resemblance to the grants of the Maitrakas as confirmed by scholars who edited the im.

Lastly, Mr. Mookerjee argues that a grant of Dharasena II of the year V.S. 269² alludes to a vihāra built by Acharya Sthiramati during the reign of his father, (in G.S. 240) i.e. 559 A.D. according to the 319-20 A.D. epoch, whereas the date of the translation of certain Chinese works done by Sthiramati is accepted to be about 380 A.D. The date of his teacher Vasubandhu is taken to be 360 A.D. This difficulty, however, created by the discrepencey in dates is not solved even if we accept the epoch suggested by Mr. Mookerjee who would take us back to 182-3 A.D. instead of advancing us to the later half of the fourth century.

^{2.} Cf. Last Chapter on Political History.

^{2.} Buhler, op.cit., VI, pp. 11 ff.

^{3.} Cf. Watters, op.et loc.cit.

^{4.} Ibid.

5. That the expression 'Bappa-padiya' used in the Valabhi records could not be applied to some religious head as stated by this scholar, but it was in all probability used for ancestors of the donars of the Maitraka grants as shown elsewhere.

Appendix -A.

A DISCUSSION OF DR. HOERNLE'S VIEWS:

Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in his article "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History"(1) has put forward the view that king Siladitya of Malava, described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang was the son of Yasodharman of the Mandasor Pillar inscription(2). He avers that Yasodharman inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huna chief Mihirakula by 533 A.D. and thus delivered the Gupta empire from a treatening Hunic domination by 533 A.D., and that it was - thanks to this victory - that he could assume the title Vikramaditya. This statement of Dr. Hoernle has no foundation in fact. As, Professor R. D. Banerji has pointed out, it is not mentioned in any of the three inscriptions(3) of his, nor in any of his coins(4). It is merely an inference from the fact mentioned in the Raja Tarangini that Vikramaditya was a king of Malava who had a son by name Siladitya(5). However, as Dr. Aurel Stein has repeatedly asserted 'Kalhana's chronicle is absolutely unreliable even about the history of the sixth century, unless corroborated by reliable and independent evidence, "(6) and it must

⁽¹⁾ Hoernle, "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," J.R.A.S.,

^{1903,} pp. 545 ff.

(2) Fleet, op.cit., C.I.I., III, No. 33, p. 142; No. 34, p. 149;
Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions - Mandasor
Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman," I.A., XV, p. 253. The
identity of the Siladitya of the Rajatarangini (iii, 330)
with the Siladitya of Hiuen Tsiang was first assumed by Dr. Stein in his note and Introduction, p. 6.

^{(3) &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.
(4) Banerji, "Later Guptas of Magadha," <u>J.B.O.R.S.</u>, XV, p. 264. (5) Rajatarangini, (Translated by Pandita), p. 84; iii taranga, v, 530.

⁽⁶⁾ cf. Stein, Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmira, I, p. 83.

be admitted that there is no such evidence to support our author's contention. But it is above all the Vikramāditya of the Rājatarangini that is sought to be identified with Yasodharman, inspite of the fact that the Rājatarangini explicitly says that this Vikramāditya was also known as 'Harsa'(1). Then as to his theory that it was by virtue of his victory on the Lunas that he donned the title, surely had this been the case, would the Mandasor inscription failed to record it?

Again the course of events narrated in the <u>Rajatarangini</u>, viz. the dethronement of Siladitya and his reinstatement, do not agree with the authentic history of Malava, as it has come down to us through the inscriptions. For we know that the later Guptas were in possession of Malava long before 583 A.D.(2) We further know that the Kalachuris came into possession of Malava in or a little before (27th July) 595 A.D.(3), - a circumstance evidenced from the abhona plates of the Kalachuris which were issued from Ujjaini itself.

But Dr. Hoernle does not stop here. He goes further and assumes that Yasodharman ruled from 533 to 583 A.D.(4). This seems to be based on Hiuen Tsiang's statement that king Siladitya of

(4) Hoernle, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid. Taranga Third, v. 125, p. 68. For adjusting this Yaso-dharman as king Siladitya of Malava described by Hiuen Tsiang, Dr. Hoernle has suggested that Yasodharman may have been called Siladitya. However, this is baseless and does not require criticism.

⁽²⁾ See Appendix C: The Later Guptas of Malava.
(3) Pathak, "The Abhona Plates of Kalachuri Sankargana," E.I., IX, 299

Malava ruled for about fifty years(1), which, to suit his fancy, Dr. Hoernle ascribes to Yasodharman himself. Even apart from the irregularity involved here, the view can hardly be accepted. In 533 A.D. Yasodharman was a full fledged emperor(2) having carved out an empire after defeating several powers including the Hunas (3). Hence his rule must have begun long before 533 A.D. i.e. the date of the Mandasor Pillar inscription, when he must have already passed middle age.

Furthermore, Dr. Hoernle supposes that the king of Malava who came into hostile contact with The interest Rajyavardhana was Siladitya, the son and successor, according to him, of Yasodharman, whereas the cumulative evidence of Bana(4) and the Madhuban(5) and the Banskhera(6) plates tends to show that it was Devagupta. Our view is further strengthened by the contrast in the character of the two princes. For, while Bana describes the king of Malava as 'wicked,' Silacitya is described by the Chinese traveller as a man 'of rare kindness and compassion.'(7)

Bird Finally in identifying this Siladitya with the enemy with of Puspabhuti kings, Dr. Hoernle states that his son Bhandi was surrendered to the Thaneswara court and makes Yasomati, the wife

⁽¹⁾ Watters, op.cit., II, p. 242.

⁽²⁾ Fleet, "The Mandasor Pillar Inscriptions," C.I.I., III, p. 150.
and Fleet, "Sanskrit & Old Kanarese Inscriptions," I.A., XV, p. 25;
(3) That Yasodharman rose from a feudatory position only would imply that it must have taken up a number of years to establish himself as a sovereign king.

of Prabhakaravardhana, Yasodharman's daughter. This is pure imagination, and a number of objections at once well up in the mind against it. In the first place, as Mr. Vaidya has indicated, the names of a sister and brother may have some portion in common, as it often happened in those days, but not of a father and dauthter(1). Secondly, when Bana represents Yasomatis brother as bringing Bhandi to Prabhakarvardhana he simply calls him Yasomati's brother(2). Had he been a king of so great a fame as Siladitya of Malava is believed to be by Dr. Hoernle, Bana would have certainly mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position (3). It appears from the plain reference in the context that Yasomati was not the daughter of a great king at all, but of some Samanta at the most and hence her brother is mentioned without any handles to his name. when Yasomati was widowed and became a sati her father and mother appear to have been alive, (4) while Yasodharman had died long before Further, if the epithet Mahabhubhrtakulodgata, one born in the family of great kings", applied to Yasomati by Bana(5) be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhandi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal titles. This plain mention of Yasomati's brother clearly shows that the latter took

⁽¹⁾ Vaidya, The History of Mediaeval Hindu India, I, p. 38.

⁽²⁾ Bana, op.et.loc.cit.
(3) Vaidya, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽⁴⁾ Bana, op.cit., p. 152.

⁽⁵⁾ Bana, op.cit., p. 103 (Sanskrit text, 176)

his son to the court only with a view that the latter might have his prospect improved there. If on the contrary Dr. Hoernle's theory is accepted we would be reduced to the absurdity of believing that Bhandi fought his own father and had the hardheartedness to present to Harsa the family and the dependents of his father enchained; and to rifle his treasures without any hesitation or feeling at all(a). It is not possible, as Hoernle would have us believe, that a boy about eight years old(2) could so far forget his relationship with his own father as to proceed in course of time, against him as his enemy, and fight him with a great zeal.

It is further suggested by Dr. Hoernle that after the overthrow of Siladitya Harsavardhana conferred Malava on Bhandi, who was his cousin and Siladitya's son. But against this we have the epigraphical evidence which shows that the Maitraka kings were at we Malava after 616 A.D.(3). Nor does Hiuen Tsiang(4) support Hoernle's assertion. His statement that some time(5) before his visit the

⁽¹⁾ Vaidya, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽²⁾ His age at the time is known from Bana's Harsacharita (p. 116)
That Bhandi was about eight years old when he was sent to
Thaneswara.

⁽³⁾ Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297," The Proceedings of Seventh All India Ori.Conf., Baroda, pp; 659 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ Watters, op.cit., II, 247.

⁽⁵⁾ Hiven Tsiang actually says that it was sixty years before. This is merely from heresay, and all the details may not have been recorded quite accurately by this Buddhist monk who in words of Watters "cared little for other things and wanted to know only Buddha and Buddhism." (cf. Watters, op.cit., II, 15).

As regards this point of inconsistancy Dr. Hoernle himself has remarked that "being a foreigner, it cannot be expected that he always grasped correctly all the details of the historical informations which he gathered," J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 565.

country of Mālavā was ruled by a king named Silāditya(1) corroborates the above epigraphical evidence. Further Higen Tsiang has described Tu-lo-po-po-tu or Dhruvabhatta the actual king of Valabhi as 'a nephew of Silāditya,' a former king of Malava(2). This Dhrubhatta of the Chinese traveller as has been already proved was none other than king Dhruvasena II, a son of Silāditya I's brother Kharagraha. All this is confirmed by a statement in a later Buddhist work the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa that Silāditya ruled from Mālavā to the western Ocean(3). The circumstances under which the Maitraka kings obtained the country of Malavā are explained in a previous chapter.

Thus we arrive at the following conclusions:-

- (1) Vikramaditya of the Rajatarangini is not the same as the Siladitya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.
- (2) The king of Malava who killed Grahavarman was not a son of Yasodharman. It was Devagupta(4).
- (3) The king of Malava referred to by the Chinese traveller was the Maitraka king Siladitya, Dharmadatya.
- (4) In the year 533 A.D. Yasodharman was a full fledged emperor and had passed middle-age and that he could not have ruled down to 583 A.D.

(3) Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 24. Chi The above (4) cf. (Ch. VIII on) Siladitya I.

⁽¹⁾ This Siladitya of Malava is rightly identified with the Maitraka king, cf. Sylvain Levi, <u>Journal des Savants</u>, 1905, pp.544-548. The identification is accepted by Smith, <u>E.H.I.</u>, p.343 and others.

⁽²⁾ Watters, op.et.loc.cit. We cannot but assume that Hiuen Tsiang has made a confusion in taking Siladitya as a local king of Malva simply on account of his having happened to learn his account in that province, which was in fact, only a part of his vast kingdom.

- (5) Yasomati, the wife of Prabhakarvardhana, could not have been a daughter of Yasodharman. Her father must have been some Samanta at the most.
- (6) The came under the Kalachuris some time before 595 A.D. and as we shall presently see, remained under them down to 609-10 A.D.
- (7) It came under the sway of the Maitrakas sometime during the latter part of Siladitya, Dharmaditya's reign i.e. c..612-14 A.D.

We now go a step further and make bold to say that the stirring events described by Bana took place not in c. 606 A.D., as Dr. Hoernle tried to prove, but after 609-10 A.D. We know that the Kalachuri kings held a vast kingdom under their sway till about this date. This is known from the Vadner plates dated 609 A.D. (19th August) where Buddharaja is stated to have granted some plot of land in a village named Koniyas near Bhattiurika situated in the Vatanagarabhoga which has been identified with Vadner (usually called Bhahirobaca Vadner) in the Chandvad taluka of the Nasik district; while his 'victorious camp' was situated at Vidisa - (Besnagar)(1). Evidently, in this year Buddharaja started some of his campaigns from Vidisa which was in the Malava dominion. Then again his Sarray Sarsavani plates dated 609-10 A.D. reveal that Buddharaja was "in the royal residence of victory fixed at

⁽¹⁾ Gupte, "Vadner Plates of Buddharaja, K.Sam. 360," E.I., XII, p. 35.

Anandpura, "(1) and he granted a plot in the Gorajjabhoga - situated in the Bharusachha - visaya, to a Brahmina of the village called Kumarivadao, near Brhannarika(2). Since Vidisa (near Bhilsa) and Anandapura are places flanking Malava as it were, one in the east and the other in the west, and since Malava had been reduced during the reign of Sankaragana, it follows that the Gupta ruler Devagupta whom we see installed there was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. looking to these circumstances it is not possible to believe that the Kalachuri king could have remained aloof when important changes were taking place in a neighbouring kingdom, specially when one of the parties involved was a feudatory of Malava. Nor is it possible to conceive of a political alliance between a feudatory and a foreign foreign ruler like the Gauda king Sasanka, especially when the suzerain viz. the Kalachuri emperor was not referred to by his feudatory regarding the same. On the other hand it is absure to hold, as Dr. Ganguli has suggested, that the king of Malava who killed Grahavarman, was himself the Kalachuri king(3). For, had this been the case, Bana would have designated the slayer of Grahavarman as the Kalachuri king, and not as the king of Malava, because the Kalachuris were the overlords, while Malava was a feudatory state or at best an appanage of the Kalachuri empire. What is more, the intervention of the Gauda king at this stage

⁽¹⁾ Kielhorn, "The Sarsavani Plates of the Kalachuri king Buddharaja, E.I., VI, pp. 299 ff.

⁽³⁾ Ganguli, "Malava in the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D.,"
J.B.O.R.S., XIX, p. 406-407

shows, if anything, that the Kalachuri power was then more and that Suzerainty had passed to the Gaudas. Again, was it not strange for the Banskhera and the Madhuban inscriptions to state that Rajyavardhana had curbed the power of ind Devagupta and others in the battle while they should say nothing about the Kalachuris who were in full possession of their strength till 609-10 A.D.? The conclusion, therefore, follows that it was after the disappearance of the Kalachuri imperialism that the momentous events described by Bana took place, i.e. sometime after 609-10 A.D. The accession of Harsa which occurred after these events must therefore be shifted from 606 A.D. in which year it is usually placed, to a date, which is in agreement with the above chronology, preferably to 612 A.D., as was long ago suggested by Watters(1).

It must also be noted that the year 606 A.D. was assigned to as the year of the accession of Harsa on the statement of Alberuni, who in an ambiguous passage discusses the difference between the Harsa and other eras. "His (harsa's) era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanoj. Between Sri-Harsha and Vikramaditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramaditya. In face of this discrepancy, I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information."(2) The former date is about three centuries earlier

⁽¹⁾ Watters, op.cit., I, 347.

⁽²⁾ Sachan, Alberuni's India, II, p. 5.

than Harsa's reign, and hence it could be rejected outright. As regards the latter date, as read by Alberuni in the eleventh century (1030A.D.), it is not clear whether Harsa Samvat commenced in the course of the 664th year of Vikramaditya's era or after its completion. In case the year of the abhisekha of Harsa was taken to be the 664th year of Vikramaditya, the corresponding date in A.D. would be 606-607. If on the other hand it was taken to be 664 years after Vikrama Samvat the first year of Harsa-Samvat would correspond to 607-608 A.D.(1) Moreover, as Dr. Buhler says, " "what Alberuni really means can be settled only astronomical calculations, in case a number of dates with the days of the week, or a statement regarding an eclipse, are found."(2) Fortunately, out of a good number of inscriptions believed to be dated in the Harsa Samvat, the requisite astronomical data are supplied by two records - that of 34(4) and of 563(4) - which give an intercalary month and a day of the week respectively. The former of Samvat 34 belongs to Amsuvarman who was a feudatory of king Sivadega(5) of Nepal. As regards this inscription it is not clear as to what era the year 34 is to be referred. Prof. S. Levi thinks that it may be a local era(6) for the very sound reason that Amsuvarman could not have

⁽¹⁾ Bhagwanlal Indraji, (edited by Buhler), "History of Nepal," I.A., XIII, p. 420, note 37. (2) Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Bendall, A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, p. 74.

(4) Keilhorn, "Three Dates of the Harsha Era,", I.A., XXVI, p. 32; Cunningham, A.S.I.R., XIV, p. 72.

⁽⁵⁾ Buhler, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽⁶⁾ Vide Keilhorn, (Bhandarkar's Inscriptions of Northern India), E.I., XX, p. 189 note 6. cf. S.Levi, Jour. Asiatique, 1894, Juillet-Aout, p. 62.

ruled after 637 A.D.; since Hiuen Tsiang who visited Northern India in that year, speaks of him as already dead: "Lately there was a king called Amsuvarman who was distinguished for his learning rathed and ingenuity."(2) But in the seventh century, according to the calculation given by Mr. Bendall, it was in the year 640 A.D. that Pamsa was intercalary(3). Moreover, we know that the inscription was discovered ndar Nepal(4) and not near Thaneswara as is the case with the other inscription (of 563) in question. Hence the use of a local era is more likely than that of Harsavardhana's. Harsavardhana was the ruler of Thaneswara and Kanauj. Since Amsuvarman was a feudatory chief of Nepal he may have followed the local era of his overlord.

The other inscription viz. the Panjaur inscription, which is believed to be dated in the Harsa Samvat, gives 563 Jyestha Sukla

⁽¹⁾ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 565; cf. Buhler, op.cit., p. 419.

⁽²⁾ Beal, op.cit., II, p. 81.

⁽³⁾ Bendall, op.cit., p.76. The commencement of the local era here referred to is assigned by S.Levi to 595 A.D. But as has been pointed out by Dr. Keilhorn (E.I., XX, p. 189) the same objection would militate against this era also, for an inscription of Amsuvarman of 400 & 45 has been found (Bhagwanlal Indraji, "Inscriptions from Nepal," I.A., IX, p. 171). Beal has tentatively suggested 580-600 A.D. as the period of Amsuvarman's rule (cf. Beal, op.cit., II, p. 81 note 102). The same argument also holds good against the opinion of Mr. Bendall. He has rightly taken the basis of this era (in which the month of Pausa was intercalary in the 34th year) to be not the Surya-siddhanta in which Pausa is never intercalary, but a work which had the same elements as the Brahma-Siddhanta; and that according to this rule the year 34 will correspond to 640 A.D., thus placing the commencement of the Harsa era in 606 A.D.

⁽⁴⁾ Bendall, op.et.lcc.cit.

9th with Friday as the day of the week(1). Now taking the era to have commenced early in the seventh century, there are three years when Friday could have occurred on Jyestha Sukla 9th. These are 17th May 1168, (2), 2nd June 1172(3) and 30th May 1175(4). The first is out of the question, the era in that case, being commenced in (1168-563):605 A.D. But neither Alberuni's account nor the calculations given by Bendall, tend to support this date, as in the first case the era would have to be placed between 606 and 608 A.D., while in the second in 606 A.D. As for the second date 1172 A.D. we know that the month Jyestha of this year was intercalary(5) while in the inscription referred to above, the intercalation is not mentioned. Had there been an intercalary Jyestha when the inscription in question was issued, the writer would not have failed to record it. Hence the commencement of the era cannot be placed in 609 A.D. either. But the date exactly fits in with 30th May 1175 A.D. when the month (Jyestha), palesa (Sukla), tithi (navami) and the day viz. Friday are all in full correspondence. According to this date the commencement the of the era would fall in (1175-563)=612 A.D.(6).

⁽¹⁰ Kielhorn, op.et.loc.cit., The circumstance that the inscription was found at Panjaur a village 70 miles to the north of Thaneswara, the first capital of Harsa supports the theory that the record is dated in the Harsa era.

⁽²⁾ Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, III, p. 338.

^{(3) &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 346.

^{(4) &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 352. (5) <u>Ibid.</u> p. 346.

⁽⁶⁾ The fact that this inscription was found in a village named Panjaur which is situated 70 miles north of Thaneswara, (cf. Keilhorn, op.cit., I.A., XXVI, p. 31), the first capital of Harsavardhana is another confirmation that it was dated in the Harsa era.

Further Hiuen Tsiang, who attended the sixth quinquennial assembly to be held during the reign of Harsa at Prayaga in 643 A.D. says that at that time Harsa had 'been lord of India' for that thirty years and more!(1) This expression would suggest that he had ruled for a little more than thirty years and also possibly that the pilgrim had a round number in mind. This again is more in agreement with the view that his reign commenced in 612 A.D. than with that which would put it in 606 A.D. For while the one gives 31 years the other yields 37, which is nearer the round number of 40 than 30.

Finally, Harsa, as we know from the evidence of Bana(2), was born in 590 A.D.(3), and accordingly he would be only 16 years old if 606 A.D be taken as the year of his accession. This is rather too early an age for all the adventures recorded of him, while on the other hand if his accession be placed in 612 A.D., it would make him a lad of 22, an age, when the deeds ascribed to him could have been accomplished, and which yet answers to the description of him as a boy - "if I (Harsa) am regarded as a boy"(4) - which possibly only means that he was just out of his teens.

⁽¹⁾ Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 183-184.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Bana, op.cit., p. 109. Bana says that Harsa was born in "the month of Jyaistha, on the twelfth day of the dark fort-night, the Pleiads being in the ascendant, just after the twilight time, when the young night had begun to climb.

⁽³⁾ According to the astronomical calculations made on the basis of the data supplied by Bana, Prof. Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, maintains that the corresponding year was Saka 511 or 512 (i.e. 589 or 590 A.D. vide Vaidya, op.cit., I, 40-41). Mr. Vaidya, on the other hand, thinks that it must be Saka 512 (Sunday, 4th June 590 A.D.) as in the former i.e. Saka 511 Dvadashi set in after the sunrise. cf. Vaidya, op.cit., I, pp.41-42.

⁽⁴⁾ Bana, op.cit., p. 175.

Appendix-B.

THE GURJARAS.

the field of controversy. While on the one hand it is contended that they entered India along with the Hūnas and were a branch of that race, it is pointed out on the other that the Indian records clearly distinguish between these two peoples. It is also assumed from the place-names in the Punjāb like Gujarānwālā, Gujarāt, Gujarakhana and the like, that their first settlements were in that province. This again is a gratuit ous assumption, for kaxsim the simple reason that there is no mention of this people as existing in the Punjāb before the end of the sixth century, while it is known for a fact that in or about 550 A.D. they had established their power in Rajputānā. From Rajputānā they may have extended their sway over a part of the Punjāb where

Bom.Gaz., I. pt. I, pp.2-5; Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," <u>I.A.</u>, XL, pp. 7ff; Bhandarkar, "Gurjaras, B.J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, pp. 405 ff; Forbes, "Raśa-Mala", I, p.40; Smith, <u>E.H.I.</u>, 428 ff; Hoerule, <u>J.R.A.S.</u>, 1904; p. 639, 662; 1909, pp. 53 ff.

^{2.} Bana, op.cit., p. 101, while enumerating the campaigns of Prabhakaravardhana distinguishes between the Hunas and the Gurjaras. Then again in the Badal Pillar Inscription 925 A.D. (cf. Kielhorn, "The Badal Pillar Inscription of hax the time of Narayana Pala," E.I., II, pp. 161, 165.) the Hunas and Gurjaras are distinguished. Cf. Vaidya, op.ctt., I. pp. 83 ff; Ojha, History of Rajputana, I, p. 151; Krishnaswamy Iyengar quoted in Mazumdar's "The Gurjara-Pratihara", J.D.L., X, p. 3; Munshi, The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, pp. 4 ff.

^{3.} This date is arrived at by the later Ghatiyala inscription of the line at cf. Bhandarkar, "The Ghatiyala Inscriptions of Kakkuka, Sam. 918," <u>E.I.</u>, IX, pp. 277 ff. and <u>J.R.A.S.</u>, 1895, p. 513.

their memory still lingers in the above place-names. 1 question of the origin of these interesting people has to be left as an open one.

The five Ghatiyala inscriptions of the Gurjara kings supply a long line of kings belonging to the Gurjara dynasty extending over twelve generations. 2 Now taking twenty-five years for each generation the total period of their rule would be three hundred vears. The known date of Kakkuka is Samvat 918 or 861 A.D. and that of his brother Banka is Samvat 894 or 837 A.D., hence the founder Harichandra of this dynasty may be placed as stated by Dr. Majumdar in 550 A.D. 3 One of these five inscriptions mentions that four sons of Harichandra built a rampart round the fort of Mandayapura which was gained by their own prowess. This place can be identified as Mandor in the neighbourhood of which place the inscription was found. 4 The next mention of the Gurjaras is in the Harsacharita, where Bana styles Prabhakarvardhana as the 'Gurjaraprajagara' which according to he commentatory of Samketa means one who deprived the Gurjaras of their sleep. We know that the two kingdoms were not very far from each other, and since

^{1.} Majumdar, "The Gurjara-Praiharas," The Jour. of the Department of Letters, X, p. 2.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid.,p.7. Dr. Hoernle (in his article "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History", J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 28) has made a mistake in calculating the period of rule of each generation by taking less than twenty-five years. This point has been made tear by Majumdar in the above mentioned article.
4. Prog. Rept. Arch. Surv., W. Circle, 1906-7, p. 30.

^{5.} Bana, op.cit., p.101.

Prabhakarvardhana followed an imperialistic policy, it is possible that he sought to bring them under his control. In about the middle of theseventh century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang found them ruling from Bhinnamala, in Rajputana which may thus be taken to have been thecapital of the Harichandra's dynasty.

Harichandra had a son called Dadda. Dr. Sankalia² agrees with Dr. Majumdar in identifying the latter, with Dadda I, the founder of the Broach branch of the Gurjara family.³ Now there is no doubt that Dadda was the founder of this branch, since all the inscriptions of his successors refer to him as their progenitor. But it is far from certain if it was in Dadda Is' time that their capital came axea to be established at Broach or Nandipuri; for as to this we have so far the inconclusive evidence of a fragmentary inscription only. This is the Sankheda inscription of 346 i.e. 595-6 A.D.⁵ This plate contains neither the name of the donar nor the place from which it was issued; but the donar is identified as Dadda I, the Gurjara king on the ground that the writer is the Sandhivigrahika Aditya Bhojika. Now, it was only in very small kingdoms that the two offices of Sandhivigrahika and

^{1.} Watters, op.cit. II, p. 249; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 270.

^{2.} Sankalia, The Arch. of Gujarat, p. 14

^{3.} Majumdar, op.cit., I.D.L., X, p. 10.

^{4.} A Samanta chief Samgamasimha was in possession of this art of the country before the Gurjaras established at Broach. This is known from his grant issued from Bharukachha dated 540-41 A.D. cf. Sten Konow, "Sunao Kala Plates of Samgamasimha," E.I., X, p. 72.

^{5.} Dhru, "Three Land-Grants from Sankheda", E.I., II, pp. 19 ff. Acharya, op.cit., II, p No. 109.

Bhogika could have been held by one and the same person: 1 and the record may in casequence be taken to belong to Dadda I, within whose reign it actually falls. Similar instances are met within the Gurjara grants of alater period. An instance in point are the Bagumra plates of Dadda II, where the Dutaka, a post almost always held among the Maitrakas, by a prince who is also a yuvaraja, is held by a bhogika. Then again the characters of this grant closely resemble those of ant another undoubted inscription of Sam. 391 and other published grants of the family. 3 It may therefore, be taken tentatively that it was in Dadda I's line that Broach or rather Nandipuri became the capital of the Gurjaras - an event which may have taken place in or about 580 A.D. It is at this time that the Maitraka power had been makanad weakened by the onslaughts of the Mankharis, 4 and naturally they could not prevent the Gurjara adwance towards the Narbada. But the Gurjara glory was of short duration; for before long the Gurjaras were caught up in the Kalachuri drive to the west coast. The territory under Dadda was detached from the north provence of

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Buhler, "Gurjara Inscription" (Bagumra Plates), I.A. . XVII, p. 200

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Cf. See Chapter on Dharasena II, p. 4. This is further clear from the fact that in an inscription dated 7 573 A.D. Dharasena II assumed the title 'maharaja', while in the later grant dated 588-89 A.D. he styles himself 'Samanta' only. Thus indicating the weakness of the Maitraka rule in the period.

Bhinnamala, and he saved himself by acknowledging the paramountcy the Kalachuris. This is established by the fact that the Barukachha Visaya of their empire was late as 609-10 A.D.2

In editing the Sarsavni plates, Dr. Kielhorn has remarked that "the emlogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kalachuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants of the Gurjara Dadda (II), Prasantaraga, of the (Kala-Churi) year 380 and 385, and and of the (Gujarat) Chalukya, Vijayaraja of the (Kalachuri) year 394. "Amai And again, "if Dadda Prasantaraga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his prasasti, most probably would have taken for his model some olderGurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kalachuri grant." From which Dr. Kielhorn amak concludes that

^{1.} Bom.Gaz., I, pt. II, p. 315. That the Gurjaras were at this time engaged in a bitter struggle against the Kalachuris or their feudatory Nirihullaka (That the Sankheda plates of the general of Nirihullaka was issued from the battle-field camp at Nirgundipadraka, which is identified as Nagarvada, 6 kos from Dabhoi, supports the hypothesis) is evident from the Kavi plates of the Gurjara king Dadda II (cf. Acharya, Hist. Ins. of Gujarat, II, pp. 4 ff), which while speaking of Dadda I, his father, significantly observe that he "uprooted the Nagas" who according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji may have been the same as the jungletribe ruled by Nirihullaka (Cf. Bom. Gaz., I, pt. I, p. 115).

^{2.} This is clear from the Sarsvni plates of Buddharaja where the piece of land granted was in the Bharukachha Visaya, cf. Kid Kielhorn, "Sarsavni Plates of Buddharaja, K.Sam. 361," E.I., VI, pp. 294 ff.

^{3.} Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," I.A. .VII, 248.

^{4.} Kielhorn, *The Sarsvai Plates of the Kalachuri king Buddharaja, * E.I., VI, pp. 299 ff.

the Gurjaras were the underlords of the Kalachuri's. While I do not doubt the fact for quite ther reasons, I feel theargument of Kielhorn is weakened by his own admission that the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Gujarat and those of the Maitrakas also show the same characteristics. Nor can I agree that the word 'Krsna' in the Gurjara grant implies an invokation of the Kalachuri king Krsnaraja. For the purpose of present proving the thesis of Kalachuriya suzerainty the land gam grant made in the Bharukachha visaya in the Sarsavani plates is more than sufficient.

To continue the history of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuriya hegimony came to an end somewhere after 609-10 A.D. They were engaged in continuous warfare with the ruling am family of the Chalukyas in the south of their dominions, and after 610 A.D. in the reign of Pulikesin II they definitely passed under the suzerainty of the latter.

^{1.} Fleet, "Sanskrit and the Old Kanerese Ins.," (Nerur Pl.), I.A., VII, p. 162; Fleet, "The Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa," I.A., XIX, p. 19.

CHAPTER

RELIGION

The history of religion under the Maitrakas constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of their dynasty. The rulers were broad-minded and altogether catholic in their outlook. They made no difference between one religion and another, but encouraged Saivism, no less than Buddhism, Sun-worship, - Jainism and Vaisnavism. Learned men of all religions derived equal benefit from the state, and no distinction was made in this matter. Knowledge and truth were considered the highest forms of religion, and the Maitraka kings showed their readiness to accept any creed, if and when its truth was demonstrated to them by its exponents. In short, the spirit of tolerance and reverence for the good things of all religions, an ideal which was taught by Asoka, was closely followed by the Maitrakas.

<u>Saivism</u>: The earliest existence of Saivism in India can be traced back to the time of Mohenjo Daro in the ruins of which seals bearing the images of Siva are found in a yogi-like posture (1) Unfortunately, archaeological and epigraphical evidences add very little to prove its existence and development in the early-mediaeval province of Kāthiawad. However, monuments from Malawa,

⁽¹⁾ Marshall, Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization, I, pp. 52-54.

Heras, "The Plastic Representation of God Amongst the ProtoIndians," Sardar Commemoration Volume, p. 223; Moraes, "A

Mohenjo Daro Figure," The New Review, X, p. 438 (1939).

The earliest dated reference to Siva worship is that of
Megasthenes, cf. Mc'Crindle, Ancient India, pp. 22-33.

C.P., and U.P., speak of its flourishing state before we get definite evidence of its existence in Saurastra (1). Saivism in this country seems to have been enriched by the Maitrakas during their glorious reign.

It was the state-religion, or to be more precise, the royal religion of the Maitrakas (2). The Bull and the Trident, the well-known emblems of god Siva, which were usually found on the seals and coins (3), and the title 'parama-mahesvara' before the names of these kings in their copper-plates (4), go to prove the same.

All the Valabhi rulers, with the exception of Dhruvasena I (519-549 A.D.) who was a Bhagavata, and Dharapatta (550 A.D.) who was a devotee of the Sun, were definitely followers of the Saiva cult. True, Buddhistxxxxxx in one of his inscriptions Guhasena adopts the Buddhist style of paramopasaka, but this is not a sufficient evidence to show that he was converted to the Buddhist faith. For in the later records Guhasena is called 'parama-mahe-svara' by his successors. Moreover, the reason for Guhasena's adopting this title can easily be accounted. It seems to have been intended to please his cousin Dudda, a Buddhist nun, for whom he had the highest esteem, and also the learned and virtuous Buddhist monks, who were his contemporaries.

⁽¹⁾ Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 219.

⁽²⁾ This is obvious from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka rulers.

⁽³⁾ The unpublished Bull-marked coins of the Maitrakas are given in the chapter on the coinage in this book.

in the chapter on the coinage in this book.

(4) Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 119.

An insight into the nature of Valabhi Saivism is known from only one inscription(1). The copper-plates of Siladitya I (c.599-614 A.D.) record that he made a grant of two pieces of land along with a Yamala-vapi as the provision for the repairing of the temple as well as for the worship of the god by means of: bathing water (snapana), pounded sandal-wood (gandha), perfume smoke proceeding from Gum or resin (dhupa); flowers (puspa), garland (malya), lamps (dipa), music (gita), dance (prtya) etc. The temple was a private one, but that in no way lessens its importance. For it throws a good deal of light on the prevalence of that cult in the early mediaeval period. Early worship of the Brahmanic gods was essentially private, and was performed in seclusion of which this is a typical example. Now looking to the fact that almost all the Valabhi kings were Saivites, is it not strange that only one grant issued to a Siavite temple is recorded to have come down to us?(2). But it may perhaps be that Saivism being the royal religion, the Saivite temples were maintained by the state from the general revenue and that no special grants were made to them(3).

Dr. Sankalia agrees(4) with the late Dr. Buhler in his supposition that the cult-objects in the Siva temples at Valabhi were lingas and not images (5). Along with the lingas, the Nandi is

⁽¹⁾ Buhler, "A Valabhi Grant of Siladitya I, dated 290," I.A., IX,

⁽³⁾ It is also possible to maintain that some such grants may have been made to the Saivite temples and possibly were lost in the confusion that followed the downfall of the Maitraka rule.

(4) Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 218.

⁽⁵⁾ Buhler, op.et.loc.cit.

always associated with Siva, being his vehicle; and it is found on the dynastic seals and coins of the Maitrakas. That such Nandi abounded in these temples is evident from the number of them strewn about the ruins of Vala, some of which may be dated back to the sixth and seventh centuries.

The flourishing state of Saivism may also be deduced from the literary sources and folklore, e.g. in the Udayasundarikatha, the author Soddhala traces his descent from king Siladitya's brother Kaladitya, whom he praises as an incarnation of the Gana called Kayastha, a follower of Siva(1). Then again we are told that Sankracharya probably visited Valabhi(2) when he went to establish the Saradamatha at Dwarka(3), and that his visit strengthened the position of Saivism in this part of the country. Finally, we learn from the story-literature that a huge Sivatemple of Achalesvara Mahadeva was erected by a Valabhi king in the centre of the capital city(4). Unfortunately, no traces of this temple have been left and except the vague statement of Hiuen Triang that there exhisted several hundred deva-temples with very many sectaries of different sorts(5).

(5) Watters, op.et.loc.cit: Beal, op.et.loc.cit. At Vala there are ald of Siva temples of Sidhesvara, Ramesvara, Ratnesvara and Buddhanatha which maybe assigned to the paciticka period.

⁽¹⁾ Soddhala, The Udayasundari Katha is supposed to have been composed between 1025-1050 A.D.

⁽²⁾ Sankracharya's visit to Dwarka is mentioned by Madhavacharya, Sankar-dig-Vijaya, Sarva 16; Anandagiri, Sankar Vijaya and James Hasting's, Encyclopidia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.XI. p. 186. świtri, Świna Dharma no Sankshit Hilas, pp. 45. 46.
(5) V.N. Thakur, Anangabhadra Ya Valabhipura Nu Vihar (Gujarati), p. 87.

⁹⁴⁾ Ibid., The description of the temple may be an imaginary one but the main points of the novel are taken from the historical sources and as the Valabhi kings were staunch Saivites the existence of such a temple was not impossible.

According to the Bombay Gazetteer Valabhi Saivism was of the old Pāsupata school of Nakulisa or Lakulisa sect(1). However, in the absence of any material indicating the existence of Nakulisa or Lakulisa sect, found from the ruins of Valabhi, the assumption cannot be accepted(2).

In Vala itself there is at Moti Darai an old Siva temple with a step-well(3); and not long ago there was discovered a polished

(2) Lakulisa or Nakulisa is a yogi-form of Siva and the figure is

(3) Watson Museum Rept., 1938-39, p. 31.

⁽¹⁾ Bom.Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 83.

at times found with a piece of cloth tied round its folded or upraised knees, called Yogapatta (A.S.I.R., 1906-7, p.186). Lakulisa or Nakulisa, according to the Puranas, was the twenty-eighth (Khare, Murtivijnana, p. 127) i.e. the last incarnation of Mahesvara. It is also clear from the account of the Single Furnia, Top Kurma Purana, Lim 15 the Linga-Purana, Ch.XXIV, Sithe Vayu-Purana, Ch. XXIII, yerse 124-133, and the Ekalingi Inscription, (Bhandarkar, "An Ekalingji Stone Ins. and the original history of the Lakulisa sect," J.B.B.R.A.S., XXII, pp. 157 ff.), found near Nathadwara, that the incarnation took place at Kayavarohana. There were four ascetic-pupils of Lakulisa and whose names as mentioned in the Puranas are Kusika, Garga, Mai Mitra and Kaurusya. The origin of this sect is supposed to be as early as the first century A.D. This incarnation took place because, as the Hemavati inscription says, Lakulisa being afraid that his name and doctrine might be lost in oblivion, was born on earth again as Chilluka (Ep.Car., XII, p. 45). The origin of the name Lakuli is from Lakulaopalakshitakara i.e. the representation of the Siva with his hand holding a lakuta i.e. apparently lakuta or a club. Often in the countries where this sect was prevalent the image was found with one hand holding a lakuta and the other sometimes a cononut (A.S.I.R., 1905, pp. 48-50). It is also well known that the image of Lakulisa, besides having other iconographical peculiarities, is characterised by the representation of an uncovered phallus (called Urdhwamedhra in Sanskrit, cf.A.S.I.R., 1906, p. 186). Assupation of the Bombay Gazetteer, that Valabhi Saivism was of this sect, cannot be accepted. The fact that Karvan, the centre of Lakulisa or Nakulisa sect of Saivism, which is in Gaikwar territory and was the seat of Pasupata worship, does not support this view at all, since it is at a fairly great distance from Valabhi itself. While in the ruins of Valabhi proper no signs are seen of the prevalence of this sect at all.

granite linga of greenish colour(1). These things prove that at Valabhi people highly esteemed Saivism, Some scholars even date the celebrity of Somanatha from the time of the Valabhi rulers(2). This is further corroborated by an inscription at Somanath which speaks of the repairs carried out by Bhimadeva(3). The inscription is specifically dated as Valabhi Samvat 850. These temples, since they are not made of durable materials, vanished long ago with one or two exceptions, and it is important to note that down to the ninthe century A.D. all over Gujarat and Kathiawad brick and wood were the only materials used in temples and other religious edifices(4).

Goddess-Worship also played an important part in the religion of the Maitraka kingdom. The Valabhi inscriptions mention two such goddesses, Panarajya(5) or Panduraja(6) and Kottammahikadevi(7).

^{(1) &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 29.

⁽²⁾ Munshi, Gujarat and Its Literature, p. 76; and Cousens, Somanath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad, p. 18.

^{(3)&}quot;Stone Inscriptions in the temple of Bhadrakali," Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions - Bhavanagar, p. 186.

⁽⁴⁾ This is confirmed by the stories on record about two temples, one at Satrunjaya and the other at Somanatha. As regards the Satrunjaya temple the tradition is that while a minister of Kumārapala (1147-74 A.D.) of Anahilawada was on a visit to Satrunjaya to worship and mediatate in the temple of Adinatha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was dislodged by the mice and the edifice was set on fire and almost destroyed being wholly built of wood. The minister seeing the danger of woode buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (cf.Kumarapala charita). The story about Somanatha is given in an inscription of the time of Kumarapala in the temple of Bhadrakali which shows that before the stone-temple was built by Bhimadeva I (1022-1072 A.D.) the structure was of wood which was traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Krsna (cf. traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Krsna (cf.

Bhadrakali Inscription at Somanāth, Bom.Gaz., I, pt.I, p. 79.)

(5) Jackson, "The two New Valabhi Copper-Plates," J.B.B.R.A.S., XX, pp. 2 ff.

(6) Barnett, "Bhamodra Mohata Plates of Dronasimha," E.I., XVI, pp. 17ff

(7) Jackson, op.cit., pp. 9-10.

King Dronasimha (c.502 A.D.) granted a village for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of the former goddess. From this it is evident that as early as the end of the fifth century, temples of goddesses existed in Hastavapra (modern Hathab) in Kathiawad.

The temple of Kottammahikadevi, as we are told, was first built by Dronasimha(1) in the <u>Svatala</u> (boundary) of Trisangamaka (modern Tarsamia) (2). For some reason, the royal grant to the temple was stopped, but it was resumed and made permanent by Dhruvasena II (c. 639-40 A.D.), who also repaired the temple dedicated to Kottaradevi. The ruins of this temple existed when Jackson edited the grant. But unfortunately, he did not describe the temple nor the image of the goddess. She might have been some sakti of Siva or a local goddess just as Panarajya. Another example of worshipping the goddess is obtained from the legend about the Valabhi gueen Pūspāvati, the wife of king Siladitya, the last ruler of the dynasty, who had been to Arāsur to worship the goddess Bhavāni(3).

Vaisnavism: The province of Gujarat-Kathiawad is well known as the second home of lord Krsna in the Puranas (4). But unfortunately, there are no clear indications of the prevalence of Vaisnavism in Gujarat-Kathiawad before the advent of the Guptas in the fourth and the fifth centuries(5). This was probably the beginning

⁽¹⁾ Sankalia, op.et.loc.cit. (2) Acharya, op.cit., No. 16.

⁽³⁾ Merutunga, op.et.loc.cit.; Thakur, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽⁴⁾ Thoothi, The Vaishnavas of Gujarat, p. 72; Parekh, Sri Vallabha-

charya, 379. (5) Ibid., p. 380.

of Vaisnavism in Saurastra. The Traikutakas in Lata, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas(1), also seem to be Vaisnavas as could be deduced from their titles 'Parama Bhagavata' and 'Parama Vaisnava'(2), Skandagupta's inscription mentions at a temple of Visnu as built by Chakrapalita at Girinagar(3). This inscription opens with an invocation of Visnu in the Vamana or the 'dwarf' incarnation. And the noted feature of the Vaisnavism of the Gupta period, viz., worshipping the incarnation of Visnu is also indicated in the above inscription.

As for Vaisnavism in mediaeval Gujarat the chroniclers have not much to say except about later period when Narasimha Mehta greatly popularised the worship of Krsna.

Although the superiority of Siva remained long undisputed, Vaisnavism did exist in these provinces. During the Vedic period also Visnu was considered a great god. He was not considered the supreme or the sole god. In fact He was considered inferior to Indra as is evidenced by many hymns addressed to the latter. But according to a certain legend Visnu came out successful in the contest among the gods and was thereupon styled the most excellent of the gods. Visnu held this position during the Brahmanic period, for Dr. Raychaudhari says that "in the Aitareya Brahmana Visnu is

^{(1).} Cf. Hormle, J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 801-804.

(2) Hultzsch, "Surat Plates of Vyagrasena," E.I., XI, p. 219;
Acharya, op.cit., No. 14; cf. Ray Chaudhari, Early History of Viashnava Sect, p. 101.

⁽³⁾ Fleet, "The Junagadha Rock Inscription," C.I.I., III, p. 56.

described as occupying the highest place among the gods."(1). As for the sect called Vaisnavism we know that it is the name given to the Bhakti cult which recognises Visnu, also called Bhagavat-Narayana or Hari as the sole God."(2).

Coming to Vaisnavism during the Maitraka rule it must be said that there are some faint traces of its prevalence in Valabhi, especially in the title of Dir Dhruvasena I, who is called in the Valabhi inscriptions a 'Parama-Bhagavata (3). It is not possible to say when and how he was converted to this faith(4). Probably some religious teacher convinced him of the superiority of Vaisnavism over Saivism, and consequently he adopted the former faith. However, some important information is given by a record of the feudatory ruler of the Maitrakas viz. the Senapati Simhaditya of the Garulaka dynasty(5). This record says that Krsna lived in Dwarka which was the capital of the western coast of Kathiawad at that time. Now this is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to Krsna's Dwarka and its supposed survival upto the seventy century A.D. Then again we know that the Bhattikavya, the

Ibid., p. 7; cf. William Monier, "The Vaisnava Religion," (2) J.R.A.S., (N.S.), XIV, pp. 289-316.

^{(1).} Raychaudhari, op.cit., p. 97.

⁽³⁾ The Maliya copper-plate Inscription of Dharasena II (Fleet, C.I.I., III, p. 168) describes Dhruvasena I as Bhagavata or Vaisnava; Parekha, op.cit., p. 380.

⁽⁴⁾ Mention of the world 'Kṛṣṇa' in one of the Ten Fragments of the Stone Inscription from Vala suggests a probability of the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during the time, cf. Diskalkar, "Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and a Clay Seal from Vala," A.B.O.R.I., XX, pp. 1-8 (Np. 1).

(5) Hultzsch, "The Palitana Plates of Simhaditya," E.I., XI, p. 18.

well known work of Valabhi kingdom deals with plot of the Ramayana which shows that people took keen interest in the adventures of Rama, one of the incarnation of Visnu. The personal names like Visnu, Madhava, Krsna, Narayana, Vasudeva, etc. in the Valabhi copper-plate grants also show the influence of Vaisnavism in the country during the Maitraka rule.

Buddhism occupies an important place in the Buddhism: history of religion at Valabhi. The edicts of Asoka on the way to Mount Girnar furnish us with the earliest evidence of existence of Buddhism in Kathiawad. (1). It might have been promulgated there as in southern Gujarat (Aparant), by the Buddhists of Ceylon (Simhadvipa)(2). The name of one of these Buddhists, according to the edicts of Asoka(3), the Mahavamsa(4), and the Dipavamsa(5) was Dharmaraksita.

Besides Junagadha, other places which the Buddhists seem to have colonised were Talaja(6) and Sana(7), where caves and sanctuaries of the early type survive.

^{(1).} In spite of the contrary views expressed by Fr. Heras, "Asoka's Dharma," Q.J.M.S., XVIII, pp. 268 ff, this view is accepted by scholars. Dr. Benimadhv Barua, "Religion of Asoka," Mahabodhi, XXXV, p. 319; Chatterjee, "A Historical Character in the Reign of Asoka," Acarya-Puspanjali Volume, pp. 329-40; Sankalia, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽²⁾ Vogel, "Prakrit Inscription from a Buddhist Site of Nagarjuni-konda," E.I., XX, p. 22.

⁽³⁾ Fifth Edict.

⁽⁴⁾ Mahavamsa, Ch. VIII.

⁽⁵⁾ Dipavamsa, Ch. XV.

⁽⁶⁾ It is near the village Vankia, cf. Sankalia, op.cit., p. 51;

Burgess, A.K.K., p. 149. There are thirty caves at Talaja.

(7) Ibid., p. 53. The cases at Sana number about sixty-two. Anakchant "Rock - cut Buddhist Monastery at "Sana" Hists" (Moraes) Bibliography of. Indological Studies, (1942) pp. XXII of.

The Buddhism may be said to have set foot in Samrastra through the efforts of Asoka. It might have enjoyed some popularity during the days of Milinda, and may have taken firm roots in the reign of the early Andhra kings(1). But it certainly reached the acme of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi.

An explanation of this resurgence of Buddhism is available in the epigraphical records(2) as well as in the accounts of Chinese travellers(3). The details given in the copper-plates corroborate the statement of Hiuen Tsiang. They describe the Sangha of the reverend Sakya Bhikshus as belonging to eighteen schools (nikayas) and hailing from various places. The 'eighteen schools(4) -

(1) Dikshit, "Valabhi, The Ancient Buddhist University," Historical and Economic Studies, p. 55.

⁽²⁾ The objects excavated at the site of Valabhi contain a variety of clay-seals with the Buddhist formula 'Ye Dharma hetu prabhava' imprinted on them, and the copper-plate grants also record the existence of Buddhism at Valabhi. Besides this the reference to 'Ratnatraya' (frag. 1), 'Sangha' (frag. 4) and 'Tathagata' (frag. 5), occuring in some fragmentary stone inscriptions discoved in Vala further show the influence of Buddhism in Valabhi in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. cf., Diskalkar, op.cit. Then again, the reference to the fields belonging to the Buddhist monks or Samgha may be noted from the copper-plate grants, e.g. samgha kshetra, sthavira Brahma-deya-kshetra (lines 36-39) of Dhruvasena II's grant, J.B.B.R.A.S(N.S), I,pp.50-53; Bavya-sthaviraka kshetra (line 49) of Dharasena IV's grant, I.A.,I,p.14, and satka.... koutumba kshetra (line 59) Siladitya III's grant, E.I,IV,p.74.

⁽³⁾ Watters, op.et.loc.cit; Beal, op.et.loc.cit.

(4) The eighteen schools of the Bhiksus were as follows: (i) Mulamaha-sanghika (ii) Ekavyaharikas, (iii) Lokottara-vadins (iv) Kaurukullakas, (v) Bahuśrutiyas, (vi) Prajnaptivadins, (vii) Caityaśailas; (viii) Avaraśailas, (ix) Sailas, (x) Vatsiputriyas, (xi) Dharmottaras, (xii) Bhadrayanikas, (xiii) Sammitiyas, (xiv) Sannagarikas, (xv) Mahi-śasakas, (xvi) Dharsnaguptakas, (xvii) Kasyapayas and (xviii) Santrantikas. cf. Sogen, Systems of Buddhist Thought, pp. 100 ff. Hiuen Tsiang records that there were eighteen schools of Buddhism (cf. Beal, op.cit I, p. 80), and we know that originally all the eighteen schools were affiliated to the Hinayana (cf. Takakusu, op.cit., p. 101).

mentioned therein evidently point to the prevalence of Hinayana sect, but that the Mahayana sect also flourished at Valabhi, will be seen hereafter. Further we know from Hiuen Tsiang's account that most of the bhiksus in Malava, Valabhi and Anandapura studied Hinayana according to the Sammitiya school, while the bhiksus of Bharusaccha and Saurastra followed the Mahayana according to the Sthavira school, and the bhiksus of Khetaka and Ujjayani studied both the Yawas(1). As for these schools we know that the Shavira-vadins represented the conservative school of the first schism while the sammitiyas formed as sub-division of the Sthaviravadins. The Sammitiya school secured patronage from the emperor Harsa whose sister Rajaśri was a follower of this school(2).

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Valabhi is found in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I. In Valabhi Sam. 216(3) (c.535 A.D.) he donated some villages to the monastery built by his niece (sister's daughter) Dūdda who laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism by erecting a Vihāra in or near Valabhi. We can gather some account of Dūdda and her Vihāra from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings. As we have seen above Dhruvasena I has introduced her as his niece (bhāgineyi) and also as a follower of of Buddhism (paramopāsika). Hence her great Vihāra in the locality

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit., pp. 260 ff.

⁽²⁾ Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, p. 297.

⁽³⁾ Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Copper-plate Grant," I.A., IX, p. 104.

of Valabhi itself week would have been built not long before V.S. 216, the date of the earliest known grant donated to it by her maternal uncle. King Guhasena, then son of Dhruvasena I, refers to her with a great respect and uses the word 'pada' in connection with her. The later kings represent her as a queen (Rājñi). This epithet seems to have been used probably to connote the idea of her royal blood-relationship. We do not know more about her parents or her husband, if at all she was married. From the description it seems that she must have been either a child-widow or a virgin. Any how, we know that she was residing at her maternal-uncle's place at Valabhi and leading the life of a nun in her Vihāra. Realising the hardship of the life of Buddhist monks and nuns, she seems to have used her royal influence to inspire the rulers to issue grants for the maintenance of the Buddhist Vihāras.

Subsequently other Viharas were built by different persons or by kings themselves. The Dudda Vihara, as we see in the Valabhi records, had become one of the most important Viharas at Valabhi, and gradually developed into a <u>Vihara-mandala</u> containing a number of **vihar**as within its precinets.

The Dudda vihara itself received many gifts from the successors of Dhruvasena I at least for about a century and a half (from V.S. 216 onwards). It was the head of a Vihara-mandala. The Dudda-Maha-Vihara, as it was called later, incorporated in it the following monasteries. This has been known to us from the copper-plate grants.

- (1) The Bhattaraka Vihara(1) was probably named after Bhattaraka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. This Vihara was dedicated (प्रसादीकृत) to Rajasthaniya Sura (an officer).
 - (2) The Gohaka Vihara(2) was built by Gokaka, probably a monk.
- (3) The Abhayantarika Vihara(3) was built by the ret venerable nun Mimma. It was situated near the Bhattaraka Vihara. On account of the resemblance with the term of respect (pada) recorded in the inscfiption in connection with the nuns Mimma and Dudda, the former appears to have been another popular paramopasika related to the royal family at Valabhi.
- (4) The Kakka-Vihāra(4) was built by a trader named Kakka and it was situated not far off from the Dudda Vihara.
- (5) The Buddhadasa Vihara(5) was named after Acharya Bhadanta Buddhadasa. This was probably built during the life-time of Dudda hence the ackarya Buddhadasa cannot be identified definitely with Buddhadasa, the author of Mahavibhasha Sastra.
- (6) The Vimalagupta Vihara(6) was built by Acharya Bhikshu Ya Vimalagupta, who was a resident of the Kukkuranaka village. It was included in the Sthiramati Vihara.

^{(1).} Buhler, "A Grant from Valabhi," <u>I.A.</u>, V, p. 206. (2) Buhler, "Further **X** Valabhi Grants," <u>I.A.</u>, VI, p. 15.

⁽³⁾ Buhler, op.et.loc.cit.

⁹⁴⁾ In an inscription we find: 'in the vihara constructed by the trader Kakka (of) Mankila (gotra) situated near Dudda Vihara' (पुर्विद्वारस्याभ्यक्तरे वाणि अक्कुमां क्रिकारितिब्हारे). This is from the unread portion of Dharasena II's grant of V.S.270, J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.), I, p.68; मालकर्त वालाप्रमा किलात । गाममानवधकर्व

Mankila was gotra amongst the Vaisyas.

(5) Bloach, "King Dhruvasena I's grant dated, V.S.217," J.A.S.B., (1895), p. 379.

(6) Diskalkar, "Siladitya, III's grant of V.S. 343, and 356," J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.),I, pp. 38-39.

(7) The Sthiramati Vihara(1) was built by Acharya Bhadanta(?) Sthiramati(2).

The other viharas in the swatala of Valabhi were included in the Yaksha Sura Vihara mandala and were reserved for the nuns (Bhikshunis). This Yaksha-Sura-Vihara Mandala consisted of the following Viharas:

- (1) The Yaksha Sura Vihara(3). It was built by Yaksha Sura and it formed the head of the monasteries for the nuns.
- (2) The Purpha-Bhatta Vihara(4) was built by one Purnha-bhatta who belonged to the family of Samanta Kakkuka on the maternal side.
- (3) The Ajjita Vihara(5) was built by a trader named Ajjta-It was situated at the village Bhattipadra (in the vicinity of Yatakk Valabhi) and which was perhaps presented to a feudatory Varahadasa of the Gurulaka family.

Besides these the following monasteries(6) are also mentioned in the copper-plate grants.

(1) The Bappapadiya Vihara (7) was constructed by Acharya Bhikshu Sthiramati at Valabhi(8). It is identified with the Vihara

(2) Diskalkar, op.cit., p. 57.

^{(1) &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

⁽³⁾ Gadre, "Five Vala Plates," J.U.B., III, p.82.
(4) Gadre, "Dhruvasena II's grant dated V.S.319," J.E.B., III, p.82.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 79 (Garulaka Varahadasa's grant of G.E. 230).

⁽⁶⁾ Had there names been well-preserved in the following records
five more Viharas would have been known to us:- J.U.B. III,
pp. 80 ff. a Siladitya's grant dated 287; Bhandarkar's Nos.
1330, 1331, 1595, and 1600

(7) Buhler, "Further Valabhi Grants," I.A., VI, p. 12.

⁽⁸⁾ This Vihara was meant for monks from foreign countries and belonging to the Hinayana sect is borne out by the expressions "नानादेशप्रमत्वागतार्थि त्रिक्षु मंधस्य "and अहि विश्विकाय। स्यन्तराध्यि क्षु संधस्य

referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in the account of Valabhi. The Vihara described by the traveller is as follows: "Not far from the city is a great sangharam, which was built by the Arhat Acharya (ochelo), here the Bodhisatvas Gunamati and Sthiramati fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown."(1) In the foot-notes to his translation of the passage Samuel Beal adds the following account of both these acharyas. According to it Sthiramati Sthavira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. Gunamati was also a disciple of Vasubandhu. He had a famous disciple called Vasumitra, who wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosha (An Introduction to Mahayana).

- (2) The Waite Vamsakata Vihara(2): It is known that this Vihara was built by king Siladitya I himself, in the Vamsakata village(3).
- (3) The Yodhavaka Vihara(4) was built by divirapati named Skandabhatta at a village called Yodhavaka; along with this Vihara was built a water-reservoir.

These monasteries existed not only in places where monachism was preached and practised, but also in places where scientific education was imparted to the students on the basis of religion.

⁽¹⁾ Watters, op.cit., p. 169.

⁽¹⁾ watters, op.cit., p. 169.
(2) Diskalkar, "A Copper-plate grant Siladitya I dated V.S.286,"

J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.), I, pp. 27-33.
(3) Hiuen Tsiang thus corroborates this statement in his account of Malwa: "By the side of his palace he built a vihara;" and he further says that, "he exhausted the skill of the artists and used every kind of ornaments in decorating it. In it he put images of the Seven Buddhas, Lords of the World."
(4) Bhandarkar, "A grant of the Valabhi King Dharasena IV, dated 326," I.A., I, p. 45.

The long duration of time, through which these have endowed with gifts, show how Buddhism became popular and held its sway over the minds of the people during those days.

The copper-plates thus give us the names of the several Vihāras. But being almost stereotyped in their descriptions, the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings do not much help us to know anything about the activities of these monasteries. Never-theless they do occasionally afford us flimpses into the life and the conditions in them. Most of them provided for the daily necessities of the monks, such as alms (Pindapāta)(A), beds (Sayanasana)(B), attendance on the sick (Glanapratyaya), medicine (Bhesajya)(C), clothes (Chivarakas)(D), etc., for the worship of the Buddha's images, and the current repairs to the monasteries, thus giving us an idea of the duties of the monks, their daily life and their needs. Then again when these inscriptions refer to the annointing of the images(1), the performances of dances and music(2)

⁽A) Bhiksu was generally expected to receive his food by alms but the grants imply that this was not absolutely, necessary for him when he lived a settled life in a Vihara.

⁽B) Sayanasana means a dwelling place for sleeping and resting where the Bhiksus lodge at different cells of the viharas.
(C) Glana-pratvava-bhaisaiva means a preparation of medicine used

⁽C) Glana-pratyaya-bhaisajya means a preparation of medicine used as a requisite for sickness.

⁽D) Usually a Bhiksu was to keep three civaras in all i.e. the inner garment (antaravasaka), the upper-garment (uttarasanga), and the extra-garment intended for protection against cold (Sanghati), cf. Kosambi, Buddha Sangha no Parichaya, p. 3.

⁽Sanghati). cf. Kosambi, Buddha Sangha no Parichaya, p. 3.

(1) Diskalkar, "Dhruvasena III's undated grant," J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.),
I, p. 35.

⁽²⁾ Siladitya I's grant, Ibid.

or the covering of the floor(1), we know that life in a monastery was not a monotonous round of duties. One grant provides for the purchase of religious books for the monastery(2). In some, the fortifications(3) and the well-laid gardens(4) around these Viharas are mentioned. Elsewhere we also get interesting description of the testful decorations in them(5). The most important feature of the Viharas as described by the grants was the worship of images In some Viharas there were images of several Buddhas, while in some other Viharas there was only one image of the Buddha. Hiuen Tsiang in his account refers to images of Seven Buddhas in Vihara built by the king Siladitya(6). This show that the worship of the images of the previous Buddhas and of Gautama Buddha was in vogue even in the Valabhi period. This as we have mentioned above consisted of snapana-gandha-dhupa-puspa malya dipa-taila etc. Itai Itsing gives a detailed account of the way in which a Buddhist image was bathed and worshipped(7). The priest in charge of performing the ceremony of worshipping the image was known as the Padamula, and grants made special provision for his livelihood.

⁽¹⁾ Barnett, "Vala CopperPlate Grant," E.I., XIII, p. 339 and Buhler, op.cit., IV, p. 174.
(2) Buhler, "Gunasena's grant of V.S. 240," I.A. VII, p. 67.
(3) Buhler, "A Valabhi Grant," I.A., IX, p. 237.
(4) Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1333, 1341, 1360 etc; Acharya's Nos.

^{54, 63,} and 84.

⁽⁵⁾⁽Arya-Manjusri-Mula-Kalpa, 587-591). Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 24.

⁽⁶⁾ Watters, opet.loc.cit.

⁽⁷⁾ Takakusu, op.cit., p. 147.

As regards the nature of Buddhism, and its subsequent progress we know that both the Mahayana and the Hinayana (1) schools prevailed at Valabhi. When Hiuen Tsiang visited Western India in about 640 A.D. he found monasteries everywhere and the followers of the Hinayana Sammatiya as well as the Mahayana Sthavira schools. However, it cannot be doubted that Buddhism in Valabhi had a leaning towards the Hinayana sect in the early stages of its development, as a reference to the Bhiksus who practised the eighteen Nikayas would imply. It shows the existence of some Hinayana school, most probably, the Sammatiya(2). But in the heyday of Valabhi i.e. in the sixth and the seventh centuries, the chief form of religion must have been Mahayanism(3). possible that the influence of Nalanda was responsible for the growth of the Mahayana sect at Valabhi. The form of Mahayanism that prevailed in Valabhi was that of the Sthavira school, as followers of this school were found by Hiuen Tsiang(4) in Junagadha, not far off from Valabhi. We have the testimony of this author, who speaks of the monks Sthiramati and Gunamati the far famed -

(2) Hiuen Tsiang's remark for this is as follows: 'There are some hundred Sangharamas, with about 6,000 priests. Most of them study the little vehicle, according to the Sammatiya school. Watters, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽¹⁾ Kimura, "A Historical Study of the terms Mahayana and Hinayana and Origin of Mahayana Buddhism," Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta), XIII, pp. 45 ff. and XI, pp. 1-43.

⁽³⁾ Some sort of misunderstanding seems to prevail amongst scholars about the nature of Buddhist sects in Valabhi. Dr. Sankalia in the University of Nalanda, p. 180 and Dr. Diskalkar, in his article on Buddhist Monasteries in Valabhi, Pro.Seventh All India Ori.Conf. Rept., p. 813, have laid undue stress on the preponderence of the Hinayana on the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang's statement. However, the other evidence shows that Mahayanig sect also prevailed there.

(4) Beal, op.cit., II, p. 268; Watters, op.cit., II, p. 246.



FIVE BRONDE IMAGES FROM VALA



A BUDDHIST SEAL FROM VALA

champions of Abhidharma or the beginning of the Mahayanism. In the numerous copper-plates of the Maitrakas we have direct references to the annointing and bathing of the Buddha's images. Sometimes the identity of the Buddha's images can be inferred from expressions like, "Buddha-Bhattaraka"(1) occuring in the copper-plates. We have even a copper-plate grant of Dharasena IV where the Yodhavaka monastery is donated with gifts, especially meant for the Lahayana monks staying in it(2). Some Mahayanic clay-seals are also reported to have been found(3) in Vala and so also in the excavation conducted by Rev. Fr. Heras on the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery. Similar seals and a black stone image of Buddha(?) with the Ushnasha well preserved were discovered(4). Recently a fulllength statue of the Buddha(5) which was mistaken for the image of Dhundhali Mala, a local saint was found lying on the top of the Isalva hill near Vala. The Abbhal Girasia's field in Vala has yielded five Bronze statues of the Buddha(6) which are now preserved in the Prince of Walse Musuem. All these support the existence of Mahayanism in Valabhi.

⁽¹⁾ Diskalkar, "An undated plate of Dhruvasena III," J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.

I, p. 35.

(2) Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant," <u>I.A.</u>, I, p. 14. The unpublished relevant text of this plate read by Dr. G.M.Dikshit as: इसावपाहरे योधानक ग्रामे विविश्पति स्कंद सह कार्यिता (विक्राय) मानार्या ... भ्याति महायानिकार्य भियु संघाय योगावक भाम सीव etc. lines 12-13.

⁽³⁾ op.cit., p. 334. (4) Numerous votive clay seals with the Buddhist creed in character of about sixth century are discovered, cf. the unpublished Catalogue of the Finds in Valabhi in Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, prepared by Dr. Sankalia Type, K.C.b.26.

(5) Annual Rept. Wat. Musuem, Rajkot, 1938-39, p. 29.

⁽⁶⁾ Pro. Rept. A.S.I.W.C., 1915, Appendix, X.G. p.30. On the pedestals ovof these images Dr. Bhandarkar has deciphered at a Mahayanic inscription as: dharmaya prati(mā) Maghayanasa, while the inscripting on the blanks of the P. of W. Museum: and picture of the contest of the P. of W. Museum: and picture of the contest of the P. of W. Museum: and picture of the contest of the P. of W. Museum: Rev. Fr. Herrs, 8.J.

Further impetus given to Buddhism by the royal family can be seen from Hiuen Tsiang's account of Siladitya I. The traveller writes, "every year he convoked an assembly called Moksha Mahaparishad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them 'the four things' in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three-garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now."(1). Similarly Dhruvapata (i.e. Dhruvasena II) is described as a follows: "Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three 'precious ones'. Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three-garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price(2)." These details are further supported by references to the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings donated to various Buddhist institutions.

Thus after considering all the points from the archaeological as well as epigraphical evidences Buddhism in Valabhi should not be estimated as leaning towards any particular sect only. It was universal in spirit, and in the rightness of things worthy of fame, this Valabhi acquired the position (Arch prominence) as a sect of

⁽¹⁾ Beal, op.cit., II, pp. 261-62.

⁽²⁾ Beal, op.cit., p. 267.

learning(1). Though Valabhi was a receiving centre of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism it should have been a radiating centre as well.

Its thousands of monks and nuns should have influenced the culture of Gujarat and Kathiawad after the sixth century.

Jainism: Coming to the question of Jainism we see the Jaina Sutra and the later literature confirms the fact that Jainism had spread in Gujarat-Kathiawad from remote antiquity; for it is said that the scene of the Renunciation of Neminatha, the twentyfirst Tirthankar, was laid in Kathiawad(2). However, for the present, there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this statement.

The first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarat-Kathiawad when Bhadrabahu went to the south in the fourth century B.C.(3). Evidence of its existence in this part of the country is available from the Ksatrapa period only. It consists primarily in the use of a Jaina technical term'Kevalajnana'(4) etc. in an inscription of Innanakax Jayadaman's grandson(5) which was found in a cave at Junagadha.

Coming to the question of Jainism in Valabhi we know that traditionally it was known to be the home of Jainism in early mediaeval times after its shifting from Magadha (particularly in the fifth and

⁽¹⁾ Takakusu, (Itsing's) Records of the Buddhist World, p. 177.
(2) Sankalia, "The Story in Stone of the Great Renunciation of

⁽²⁾ Sankalia, "The Story in Stone of the Great Renunciation of Neminatha," I.H.Q., XVI, pp. 314 ff.

⁽³⁾ Sankalia, op.cit., p. 233.

^{(4) &#}x27;Kevalijnana' in a term meaning arrived at the knowledge of the Kevalins (omniscience-perfect sage)

⁽⁵⁾ Banerjee and Sukthankar, "Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions," E.I., XVI, p. 239.

the sixth centuries A.D.). It was here that the Svetambar canons were collected and published(1). However, it is surprising that Valabhi inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. Out of about hundred copper-plates, not a single one refers to a Sangha or a Jaina religious order, Jaina images etc., as some of them do to the Buddhist Vihara, Sanghas and images. The plaucity of an epigraphical evidence, apart from an archaeological one, is a greatly puzzling question(2). But all that we can say about it is that influence of Jainism in Valabhi may not have been so much as that of Buddhism.

Of the existence of Jaina learning, however, evidence is not wanting. In the beginning of the Maitraka rule, Valabhi was the scene of a great scriptural activity. In ancient days in India, it was customary to transmit learning from generation to generation orally, and this state of affairs continue down to the present time at least in the case of the old type of Pathasalas(3) which teach subjects like Jainism, Sanskrit, etc. This will show that it is not the want of knowledge of the art of writing to which this state of affairs can be ascribed. For according to the Jaina tradition Lord Reabha taught this art of writing eighteen scripts(4) to his

⁽¹⁾ Devasena, Darsanasara, VII: "Sorathe Valahie uppanno sevado sangho." Harisena, Brhattakathakosa, 69-80.

⁽²⁾ It may be suggested that the absence of any record of the Maitraka kings regarding any donations or grants made to the Jainas be due to the 'Aprigraha' (destitute of possession) rule followed by the latter.

⁽³⁾ Kapadia, "The Jaina System of Education," J.U.B., VIII, Pt.IV,

pp. 218-19.

(4) Kapadia, "Outline of Palaeography," J.U.B., VI, Pt.VI, pp. 93-94.

daughter Brahmi in the third ara (spoke) of the present Avasapini period of the wheel of time. The Vedic Hindus, on the other hand, ascribe it to Brahma, the creator of the Universe. Leaving aside these prehistoric items of a very remote age, we can give ample proofs of the fact that India knew the art of writing in the remote past. Various scripts such as the Brahmi and the Kharosthi(1) bear full testimony to this. It appears that the sacred works of the Jainas were not reduced to writing for their desire of strictly observing their mahavrata viz. aprigraha(2) (destitute of possession) This prevented them from resorting to writing. Moreover, those saints who preserved the MSS. were denounced(3). But time willed it otherwise and eventually the rules came to be modified (4), so much so that permission was given even for keeping any of the five types(5) of the MSS. pertaining to the Nijjttis of

(1) Fr. Heras, "The Eastern Island Script and the Script of Mohenjo

Daro, A.B.O.R.I., XIX, pt. II, pp. 122-126.

(2) In case of the Vedic literature people thought that by reducing things to writing the sacred possession of the race might pass into the profance hands, and they also thought that things could be better grasped orally from teachers and over and above there was danger of a scribe committing errors which might transform the original out of recognition.

⁽³⁾ Kapadia, "Redaction of the Jaina Canon," A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas, p. 60 ff. note 4-7. It is also known that penances were prescribed to those who wrote even one letters: "असियमेसा वारा मुंबात बंधात व असिया वारा। जीत अकरवराणि किहात व त्यति अहुगा अ व आवर्षे " - as quoted by kapadia. Bhasa on Kappa. In Cunni (p. 21) on Desaveyaliya, we find a similar reference: 'पोत्यहसु दोप्पत्रस्म असंजमो भवर ' Another reference is also found in the Bhasa on Nisiha and Bhasa on Kappa: 'पोत्यम जिस दिहेतो वर्गार तेवे य जात बकु य'

⁽⁴⁾ In the Cunni (p. 21) on Dasaveyaliga it is said: "काल पुण पहुच्च चरणकरणहा अवोच्छिनिनिभित य अण्डुमाणस्स पोत्यए संनमो भवही" (5) Kapadia, op.cit., pp. 162-162.

Kaliyasuya(1) in the event the retentive capacity, the grasping power and the intellect getting deteriorated(2). Later on, it was found absolutely necessary to prepare a number of MSS. of the Jaina canonical literature.

From the Jaina literature we understand that during the time of Skandila Suri a famine seems to have lasted for twelve years(3). This is confirmed by the epigraphical records obtained from the Mahasthan(4) and the Sohgaura(5) inscriptions which mention the famine relief measures taken in this connections. Some people believe that the famine worked a havoc on the Jaina scriptures while

⁽¹⁾ Kaliyasuya is that Sutra which is studied - recited during the first and last paurusis of both night and day (paurusis is the period that elapses from the sun-rise to the time when the shadow of an object is equal to its height. In short it practically somes to about three hour, a sund atom ag भन्तप्रमाणच्छाया आयतं तदा प्रोम्बी अवति | Malayagiri in his commentary on Nandi says so.) In the Bhasa on Nisaha (XII) it is observed: 'धेष्पति पोत्थगपणगं कालिगणि अतिकासदा

⁽²⁾ In the Visehacumni on Nisiha, it is remarked: "मेडा- आंश्राहण धारणाह परिहारण जाणिकण काजियस्थिणिक्यतिणिमित्तीया परिशापणा काजिएकासी नि सपुरा

⁽³⁾ In the Jaina literature we come across three twelve years famine prior to this. They occurred in the time of Bhadrabahu-Svamin. Arya Suhastin (c. Vira Samvat 291) and Vajrasvamin respectively. The first of them was terrible; for, it made all the Munis except Bhadrabahusvamin forget Ditthivaya. As regards the other two famines, it appears that it did not affect the knowledge of the Jaina scriptures in case of the survivors. But these famines must have severely told upon the scarcity of food - an inference can be drawn from the following lines occurring in the Cunni (pt. I, p. 404) on Avassaya: - cf.

Kapadia, op.cit. 3 a strand abaumae lagra general and and analytical an

E.I., XXI, pp 83 ff.

⁽³⁾ Jayaswal, "The text of the Songanra Plate," E.I., XXII, pp. 1 ff. This inscription is a public placard issued by the council of ministers of Sravasti, and is a document relating to famine relief measures.

others maintain that all the principal Anuyogadharas (preceptors) except Skandila Suri died in Northern India(1). In the midst of hunger and starvation it was very difficult to remember the trae knowledge and naturally people began to forget the old doctrine. So Skandila Suri summoned a council of the Jaina saints at Mathura(2) and made up the Kāliyasuya by taking a note of whatever could be gathered from them(3). A similar attempt was made by Nāgārjūna at Valabhī(4). Unfortunately, the version of Nāgārjūna did not tally with that of Skandila Sūri in its entirety(5). Hence an attempt to improve the situation was made later on by the council held at Valabhī, under the presidentship of Deyardhi Gani Kṣamāsramana, after the terrible famine, which lasted for twelve years, came to an end during the reign of the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena(6). It is further said that queen Chandralēkha, the daughter of the king of

(1) Cunni on Nandi, p. 8.

⁽²⁾ Muni Kalyanvijayji, Virnirvan Samvat or Jainakala Ganana, pp. 188 ff.

^{(3) &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

^{(4) (}a) Ibid. Kathavali, p. 298.
(b) a Ms. of Bhadresvar Suri's Kahavali also confirms this:

"अतिथ 'मध्य 'निय जाए बारसवारिक्षा दुक्त ने निवडमावका विफू हिं (१) कारण पिस्था दिसोदिस साहने । गामि व महाने दुन्य ने पूणो मिलिया मुगाल। जान सज्सायीत तान स्वर्त्तार हो ये जाहिया प्रवाहिया । तता मा सुयाने दिल्ती हो ति पारक्षा स्वर्ता के तान स्व

⁽d) Hemachandra Surl, in his Commentary on Yogasastra says that that the Agamas were got written by Skandila and Nagarjuna Suri, p. 207.

⁽d) Malayagiri's Commentary on Joisakarandaga, p. 41.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid. This happened sometimes between Vira Sam. 827 and 840.

⁽⁶⁾ Jacobi, Kalpa Sutra, p. 270 and Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, V, Pt. II, p. 432.

Ujjaini took an active(1) part at this council(2).

Coming to the work done in the Valabhi council we know that all the important works of the Jainas, which were then available, were put into writing. This event is technically known as 'pustakarohana of the Jaina Agamas' or Redaction of the Jaina Canon(3). Unfortunately, we have neither a complete list wherein these works are mentioned, nor any source mentioning the order in which they were written.

At this council of Valabhi under Devardhi Gani not only the work written at Mathura and Valabhi were rewritten and codified but some more were added to the previous list. A ***** serious attempt was made to reconcile the differences in the two versions pertaining to the two councils held previously. In cases where this failed, one of the varients was noted in the original Agamas and the other in the commentary(4). Practically in the Jaina council, the literature was written according to the version of Mathura(5) council as a connected link, while the Joisakarandaga (which supplies us with

⁽¹⁾ Shah, Jainism in Northern India, p. 68.

⁽²⁾ Muni Kalyanavijay, op.cit. and Kalpasutra state the period of this council held by Devardhigani as Vira Samvat 980 (according to Skandiliyas) and V.S. 993) according to Nagarjuniyas). This difference had its origin in the fact that some saints thought that 980 years had then elapsed since the nirvana (death) of Lord Mahavira, whereas others thought that 993 years had elapsed.

⁽³⁾ Kapadia, op.cit., p. 63; cf. Muni Kalyanvijayaji, op.et.loc.cit.

(4) In the latter case there was a reference to the Magarjuna school:

Tika on Ayara pp. 245-303 minimum delicity of the Magarjuna school:

Another reference is found in Tika on Suyagada, p. 64.

⁽⁵⁾ Jinprabhava Suri, Tapagachha Pattavali, p. 93.

astronomical knowledge) is based on the Valabhi(1). The practice of referring to a third party for a controversial question was set aside, and codified works were looked upon as the final authorities. The codification acted as a preventive fur from further modernization of the sacred works(2). Several vannams(descriptions) occuring in more than one Agama and which were written only once at full length but were not reproduced (ad varbatim) a second time, were referred to merely by writting the word vannama(3) and indicating the source of the parallel description. Thus the result of the Jaina council at Valabhi was the enshrining of the sacred lore in the manuscript books.

In the Jaina literature, Valabhi is described as a great tirtha (a holi place)(4). The Chinese travellers being Buddhists may not have mentioned this fact in their accounts, nor have they given any details about the prevalence of this sect in the country.

Another proof of the existence of Jainism in Valabhi is the reference of Mallavadin in the implication works. Malla was one of the greatest Jaina dialecticians and the author of Nayachakra. He was conferred the title of Vadin when, according to tradition, he defeated a Buddhist monk in a controvercy on the superiority of a religious question at Valabhi. Three different stories have come down to us for Mallavadin at Valabhi as follows:-

⁽¹⁾ Kapadia, oplcit., p. 64

⁽⁴⁾ Charpentier, Uttaradhyana Sutra, p. 16; Jinaprabhav Suri, Vividha Tirtha Kalpa, p. 29; Rajasekharasuri, Puratan Prabandha Sangrah pp. 89-93.

According to the Prabhavakacharita, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers - the names of the other two being Jitayasas or Jinayasas and Yaksha. They lived at Valabhi with their mother Durlabhadevi. They had a maternal uncle who was a Svetambara Jaina monk named Jinananda Suri. When defeated by a Buddhist monk Nanda or Buddhananda in a public disputation at Bhrgukachchha(1) (Broach) he left that city and came to Valabhi where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received high education at Valabhi and became great masters of Sastras. Jitayasas wrote a Nyasa - a sort of commentary - on a work of grammar, known as the Visrantavidyadharavara(2)(probably Visaranta Vidyadhara). Yaksha composed a Samhita known as Nimittastangabodhini while Malla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as Nayachakra. Mall went to Bhrgukachchha and avenged himself on his uncle's opponent Buddhananda by publicly defeating him in the royal assembly, in token of which he was given the title of Vadin. There seems to be some truth in this episode, for soon after the fall of Valabhi power, Buddhism gradually disappeared from Gujarat and Jainism took its place.

The second story about this Mallavadin is given by Merutunga in the Prabandhachintamani. According to it, king Siladitya of Valabhi once decided to have a public meeting where the Jainas and the

⁽¹⁾ Existence of Mallavadin sect in this part of India is recorded in an inscription, cf. Altekar, 'Surat Plate of Karkkraja Suvarnavarsha, Saka, 743 (i.e. A.D.812),' Altekar, "Surat plates of Karkkaraja Suvarnavarsha, Saka 743," E.I., XXI, p. 135.

(2) This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar Sidha—Hema, vide, The Purattatva, Vol. IV, p. 91.

Buddhists were made to confront each other and to establish the truth of their respective sects, the vanquished of the two was to leave the country as a penalty. But consequently when then Jainas were defeated and left Valabhipur, king Siladitya's young nephew Malla, who was a Jaina by birth, remained behind alone. As he grew into manhood, he was annoyed at the arrogance of the Buddhists, who were puffed up with their victory, and so he decided to take revenge on them. However, as there were no Jainas in the city he had to receive his education from the Buddhists. Nevertheless, he prepared himself to defeat them by self-education. One night, while he was memorizing his lessons, he saw a deity. When asked to specify a boon he wished from her and prayed for a & Grantha (a book) which would teach him the art of dialecties for defeating the Buddhists. The goddess blessed him with the Nayachakra(1). He studied the book and then requested the king to arrange a public disputation. king Siladitya acceded to his request and all the conditions of the previous meeting were agreed to once again. The Buddhists were defeated and had to withdraw from the city altogether and the Jaina Acharyas were invited to take their place. The title of Vadin was bestowed on the victorious Malla.

The story of Mallavadin as given in the <u>Prabandhakosha</u> by Sri Rājskekara Suri, is as follows: - In a village of Kheda in Gurjara Mandala, there was a learned Brahming named Devaditya; who had a widowed daughter named Subhaga. She obtained a Suryacharm, and

⁽¹⁾ One Nayachakra by Devasena Suri has come down to us consisting of 87 gathas. It mentions Mallavadin as a great logician. However, we cannot say with certainty that it was by the help of this or the other Nayachakra Mallade defeated the Buddhists.

became pregnant. The father scolded her for this scandal and sent her to Valabhi where she begot two sons and a daughter. While they were staying there, other boys began to ask these children about their father. The mother was pained by this queries. But the sun gave them a dagger to be used against those who troubled them any On hearing this the king called those children and asked them about their father. In reply they employed the weapon against the king himself. One of the boys, named Siladitya, succeeded to the throne and became the sun of acuratra. He gave the kingdom of Bharakachchha to his sister. He built a chaitya on the mount Satrunjaya and donated gifts to the Sravakas. Once upon a time some Buddhist monks approached Siladitya and complained against the Jainas. They also requested him to hold a meeting wherein they could defeat them. Siladitya consented to that and made it clear that the defeated side would have to leave the country. Jainas were defeated and the king accepted the Buddhist faith. Now Siladitya's sister, on the death of her husband, started a penance, and converted her eight year's son to Buddhism. The young boy asked the reason and got a reply that it was asked by his maternal uncle Siladitya. At this he got angry and started penance at Mallagiri-mountain. On obtaining a book on Tarkasastra (logic), as a favour of the goddesshe came to the court of Siladitya and told him that he wanted to defeat the Buddhists, and save the Jainas. And in six months time he did it successfully.(1)

⁽¹⁾ In the Brhatkatha Kosa (verses 69-81) by Harisena it is mentioned that 'Ardhafalaka' 'Sampradaya' of Jainism was stopped by a non-Jaina king Vapravada of Valabhi.

Mallavadin who was apparently the founder of the Jaina temple and who attached a Matha at Nausari, was very probably the same person who wrote a commentary called Dharmottaracharya. He and his disciples belonged to the Sena Sangha which, according to the Pattavalis, was a branch of the Mula Sangha which constituted the main Digambara church(1). This information of the Pattavalis is confirmed by the epigraphs(2).

Dhanesvara, the author of the famous Satrunjaya Mahatmya is represented as a contemporary and teacher of king Siladitya of Valabhi. He is said to have instructed this ruler in purifying the Jaina doctrine and induced him to expel the Buddhists from the country and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas'(3). We have no proof of the Buddhist being expelled. Nevertheless, it is likely that he may have influenced one of the Siladityas to some extent.

Some information about the Jaina idols in Valabhi is found in the Prabandhachintamani(4) and the Tappagachchha-pattavali(5). is mentioned in the Pattavali that the idols were removed from Valabhi to Srimala or Bhinamala at the time of Valabhi's destruction.

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⁽¹⁾ James Hastings, op.cit., Vol. VII, p. 474.(2) Altekar, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽³⁾ Rehatsek, "Paper on Satrunjaya and the Jains," I.A., II, p. 195. We also know in the Satrunjaya Mahatmya that Dhanesvara Suri is said to have defeated the Buddhists by Syadvad and the book was written at Valabhi.

⁽⁴⁾ Merutunga, op.cit., p. 228 (Gujarati translation by Shastri).

⁽⁵⁾ Jinaprabhavasuri, op.cit., pp. 89 ff.

and Gandharva-vadi Vetal Santi Suri protected the Samgha. The author of the <u>Prabandhachintamani</u> narrates a miracle about idols that disappeared from Valabhi and went to Somanatha Patan, showing thus in a graphic way the removal of the idols on the decline and fall of the Valabhi power(1).

In the Bhadrabāhucharita(2) we are told that the king Bhupala of Karahāta invited the Śvetambara monks, of Valabhī at the request of his wife Nrikuladevi(3). This supports the predominant power of the Śvetambara Jainas of Valabhī. Tod, while describing the Jaina temples, the of the city says, 'in the sixth century 300 bells of the Jaina temples in the capital Valabhīpur invited the pious to be assembled.'(4).

Thus we can conclude that the existence of Jainism in Valabhi is an established fact inspite of the absence of the epigraphical evidence. "It is here that the Jaina church marks the end of the dark period of Jainism in Northern India(5) and the cannonical and other

⁽¹⁾ In India there is a belief that idols disappear from the place where danger is evident. The belief is also found in other countries. Forbes has noted from Acneid, II, pp.351-53, that whenever people saw some danger for the country before them they used to tie the idol with chains. We also know that the Phoenicians used to keep the idols of Melcorth tied fast. The same was practised by the Romans when their forts were about to be surrounded.

same was practised by the Romans when their forts were about to be surrounded.

(2) Ratnanandi, Bhadrabahucharita, Ch. IV, verse 133 if.

(3) Luders, 'Kadamba Plates of Prabhutavarsha,' E.I., IV, pp. 338ff. cf. Jacobi, "über d Entstehung d Cvetambara U.Digambara,"

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlan dischen Gesellschaft,

XXXVIII, pp. 39 ff.

(3) Tod, Travels in Western India, p. 268.

^{(5) &#}x27;According to the Digambara tradition Jaina Sidhanta was completely lost or forgotten immediately after the great famine in Magadha. We find that there is no evidence available on which we make sweeping statement. The Digambars do believe that the first disciple of Mahavira knew the Purvas and the Amgas.'

other literature of the Jainas was put into writing during the reign of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I, where Dewardhi Gani stands like a light-house to end darkness of the unrecorded period."

Sun Worship: The word Mairaka itself is supposed by various scholars to have been derieved from Mitra, the Sun. However, in the absence of any definite proof the assumption cannot be accepted as absolute(1). On the other hand out of about twenty Valabhi rulers only the fifth king Dharapatta, seems to have professed the faith of the Sun. As he was neither the founder of the Maitraka dynasty nor a great king of importance, his title Paramaditya-hankat bhakta(2) does not support this theory. At any rate, the rater adoption of this title, even by an unimportant ruler, shows the prevalence of the Sun-cult in the Valabhi kingdom.

The cult must have existed prior to the rise of Bhagavatism, for the Chandogya Upanisad, one of the oldest Upanisad, refers to Krsna Dewikiputra as a disciple of Ghora Angirasa, a worshipper of the sun(3). With the rise of Vaisnavism and the survival of Saivism, Buddhism and Jainism during the reign of the Sakas and the Kusanas the cult of the Sund did not perish, although it had no great influence or popularity as it was during that period.

⁽¹⁾ The legendary account about the solar origin of the Maitraka king and their following the Sun cult is given by Merutunga and Tod, but the epigraphical records clearly show that most of the Maitrakas devotes of Siva. These writers have mentioned the name of the Valabhi ruler as Siladitya, while the copper plate grants have described all the seven kings known by the same name as staunch Saivites.
(2) Diskalkar, "Bhadva Copper-plates of Dharasena II of V.S.252," A.B.O.R.I., IV, p. 35.

⁽³⁾ Chandogya Upanisad, III, 17,6; Kausitala Brahmana, 30,6

The worship of the Sun ultimately merged in Vaisnavism but preserved a certain individuality of its own. The Mandsor stone inscription of the time of Kumara Gupta I(1) and Indor copper-plate grant of Skanda Gupta show that the Sun-worship, which prevailed in central India in those days was patronised by the guilds. (2).

Dharapatta, the Maitraka king, whose predecessors and successors were Saivites and whose brother Dhruvasena I, was a devotee of Visnu, himself styled as paramadityabhakta (3). This shows that even Sun worship was equally patronised as Vaisnavism and Saivism by the Maitraka kings.

It is also known that the contemporary Hunas, Toramana and Mihirakula were both worshippers of the Sun and fire respectively(4). And further, during the reign of king Jivita Gupta II, Solar-worship was current at Deo-Baranark(5). There is also evidence to show that the Puspabhuti rulers of Kanauj, who ruled in the sixth and the seventh ar centuries A.D. were devotees of the Sun(6).

The Brahmana donar of the endowment for the Sun-temple at Indrapura always recited "the hymns of the hotra-sacrifices."(7). mention of such hotras, viz. Agnihotra, bali, Caru, Vaisvadeva, and atithi, in the Maitraka grants(8) would show that the Brahmanas who

 ⁽¹⁾ Fleet, "Mandsor Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman," C.I.I., III (18) pp. 85 ff.
 (2) Ibid., (16, p. 71.

^{(3) &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 167. (4) Fleet, "Note by Fleet," <u>I.A.</u>, XV, p. 361; Rapson, <u>Indian Coins</u>,

Pl. IV, Nos. 19-20.
(5) Fleet, "Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivita Gupta II," C.I.I.,

III, p. 218. (6) <u>Ibid</u>, (52) p. 232; <u>Bana</u>, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 104; <u>Beal</u>, <u>op.cit</u>., I,352; Watters, op.cit., I, p. 223. (7) Fleet, Ibid., (16), p. 71.

⁽⁸⁾ Fleet, op.et.loc.cit.

performed these hotras may have been Sun-worshipping people.

The reference to a Sun-temple in a copper-plate of king Siladitya I further supports the existence of Sun-worship(1). The temple as described in the inscription, was a private one. And it throws a good deal of light on the practice of worshipping the Sun god in early mediaeval Gujarat and Kathiawad. No signs of existence of such a temple are found in the finds of Valabhi. However, a good number of Sun-temples, which have been discovered in Western India from Multan down to Cutch and Northern Gujarat would show, according to Burgess, that there may have been some such temples in the Valabhi kingdom as well. (2)

From the records of the Gurjara kings we know that king Dadda I and Dadda II were also devotees of the Sun during that period(3). The rulers, as their grants have proved, were in possession of the land round about Broach(4). This further supports the existence of the same cult in this part of Gujarat, though confined to a small section of the people only.

⁽¹⁾ Buhler, "Dhank plates of 290," I.A., IX, p. 237.

⁽²⁾ Vide, Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 154. (3) Ackarya, op.et.loc.cit.

⁽⁴⁾ That. Ibid.

EDUCATION

(A) Buddhist System

Valabhi was much celebrated as a seat of learning, and vied with the sister university of Nalanda in promoting Buddhist studies. It is pleasant to record that the institutions of the Buddhists were accorded the same patronage by the Maitraka kings the rulers of Valabhi, as the institutions of other religions, and among the extant grants of these rulers a good number are those issued to the Buddhist Viharas. According to Hiuen Tisang, the first Chinese traveller to visit Valabhi, "It had about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Bretheren adherents of the Hinayana Sammatiya school". Hiven Tsiang also refers to the famous monks Acharya Sthiramati and Gunamati who resided in the monastery outside the town. Both were pupils of Vasubandhu, the famous pandita from Nalanda; and a commentary on his work the Abhidharmma-kosa (an introduction to Mahayana), by Vasumitra, a disciple of Gunamati, translated into Chinese before Hiuen Tsiang visited India was very popular in China. Hiuen Tsiang's statement about the existence of the Buddhist

^{1.} Names of about fifteen Viharas may be gathered from the copperplate grants of the Maitraka kings, which included separate viharas for women.

viharas for women. 2. Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, p. 246.

^{3.} Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, pp. 266,268.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>. The author of the M.M.K. refers to another famous monk Pindacharika, who as mentioned by the same writer flourished the days of king Siladitya. cf. Jayaswal, op.cit. (35 Patala) p. 43.

Viharas are now confirmed by the copper-plate records of the Maitraka kings. The Vihara mentioned by him as having been built by an arhat named Ochelo, has been identified with Bappa diya Vihara of Bhikshu Sthiramati. His reference to the monks from foreign countries and belonging to the Hinayana sect, is borne out by the expressions such as: "Nānādēsasamatvāgatārthya bhiksūsanghasya" and "Astādasanikāyābhyantarāryyabhiksu sanghasya" which occur in the copper-plate grants. 2

It would appear from I-Tsing's account that like Nalanda,
Valabhi too received alumni who resorted there from distant
places. These were the two universities which students in
I-Tsing's time generally attended to acquire the stamp of culture
and refinement, after finishing the usual secondary education.
As the same traveller observes "Thus instructed by their teachers
and instructing others they pass two or three years, generally
in the Nalanda monastery in Central India, or in the country of
Valabhi (Wala) in Western India."

"These two places," he
continues "are like Chin-ma, Shih-Chu, Lungmen, and Chue-li in
China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds,
discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been
assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become
far famed for their wisdom."

^{1.} Buhler, "A Valabhi Copper-plate Grant. Sam. 310," I.A., VI, p. 9; Dikshit, "Valabhi, the Ancient Buddhist University", Historical and Economic Studies, p. 59.

^{2.} Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant", I.A., I, pp. 14 ff; Ibid.

^{3.} Takakusu, I-Tsing, Records of the Buddhist Religion, p. 177.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>,

Unfortunately, however, save for this incidental mention of Valabhi by I-Tsing, there are hardly any means at our disposal to reconstruct the picture of this once famous seat of learning. Nevertheless, since it was a Buddhist institution we may probably take it for granted that making due allowances for local peculiarities, the general lines of its organisation were the same as at other Buddhist universities of the time. We may, therefore, suppose that as at Nalanda and Vikramasila opportunities to attend the University were available only to those who had received their primary and secondary education at these centres, and to such of the outsiders as were successful in the test held before the entrance. This test was very difficult, and it was taken by a dwara-pandita (the keeper of the gates) who guarded the way to the higher University studies. The candidates were required to prove their skill in refuting doctrines, possible and impossible and in the words of Hiuen Tsing many had to go away "disappointed with downcast heads with their brains simmering and their hearts rankling with intellectual humiliation"3. The high standard of examination could be deduced from the observation of the same pilgrim that two or three candidates only were declared successful out of every ten4, and again "one must have studied deeply both

^{1.} The percepters were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered.

2. This is clear from the use by Hiuen Tsing of the words other quarters' and 'strangers': Beal, op.cit., II, p. 171.

^{3.} Beal, op.et loc.cit.; Watters, op.et loc.cit.

^{4.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 171.

old and new (books) before getting admission" at Nālandā. By the term 'old' and 'new' the pilgrim presumably means the works on Hinduism and Buddhism; and the apparent contradiction involved here on account of the fact recorded by Hwui Li, the biographer of the traveller, that these studies were also prosecuted in the University, is resolved, if we suppose that the candidates seeking admission here were expected to know in a general way the contents of these books; while higher problems of exegesis were reserved for study in the University. Naturally enough, a high standard was demanded of the students in Sanskrit, be they Hindu or Buddhist. An idea of this standard may be obtained from I-Tsing, when he explains what we may term the prematriculation syllabus

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} I regret I cannot agree with Dr.H.D.Sankalia, who attempts to reconcile the difference in the statements of Hiuen Tsiang and of his biographer by supposing that in these subjects "only those scholars who come from other centres of learning had to undergo (this) strict test of their knowledge before they prosecute their studies at Nalanda", for the reason that for taking part in the learned discussions which went on at the University according to the pilgrim" "from morning till night" and for which "the day is not sufficient" (Beal, op.cit., II, p. 170), knowledge of the old and the new texts was quite essential. As Santos Kumar Das has rightly observed, with regard to the study of Nyāya and Tarka at the University, that these subjects "required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicography". (Cf. Das, The Educational System of Ancient Hindus, p. 32). Of course, as regards their own alumni, the university authorities were taking care to see that the minimum requirements were complied with, (although they were not tested by the gate-keeper), while in the case of those coming from other centres; they had to satisfy themselves that the latter had the requisite knowledge before joining the courses at Nalanda. Consequently, the University could not have made any difference between these two types of scholars, as regards these minimum qualifications.

in this course. The child began at the age of six with the Siddha-composition, which took about six months to finish. This, according to I-Tsing, was a small book of learning; "There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections: the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 slokas. Generally speaking, each sloka contains four feet (padas), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each sloka has therefore thirty-two syllables. Again there are glong and short slokas; of these it is impossible here to give a minute account"2. was probably deemed a sufficient preparation to introduce the child to Paninis Sutras, which according to the same writer constituted "the foundation of all grammatical science",3 the children began to learn the sutras when they were eight years old, they could 'repeat' the thousand slokas that comprised the work, 'in eight-months' time. This was probably followed when the child was in its minth year, by a course in the book on dhatu, which consisted of another thousand verses treating of grammatical roots. At the age of ten began the study of the book on the

^{1.} If this work was the same as the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang under the title of Sidhavastu, and which he says was the to be put into the hands of the students at the very same age, it consisted of twelve chapters (Beal, op.cit., I, p.78) to master Sanskrit, as would appear from the first chapter. This book on elementary Sanskrit grammar was possibly meant to encourage students on their efforts as it appears from the name of its first chapter "success be there" (Thakakusu, op.cit., p. 170).

^{2.} Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 171-172.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 172.

Three Khilas, and which was spread over a period of three years. In a long passage describing the nature of its contents, I-Tsing says, "It may be called a book on the three pieces of waste-land: (1) Ashtadhatu consists of 10,000 slokas; (2) Wen-chas (Manda or Munda) also consists of 1,000 slokas; (3) Unadi too consists of 1,000 slokas."1 The Astadhatu or the first part of this book treated of the fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar such as the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. In the second and the third parts of the book the formation of words by combining the roots and the suffixes was taught: and thus at the age of thirteen a boy completed the study of this important part of grammar. Thereafter at the age of fifteen the student was introduced to the VrittiSutra, said to be one of the best commentaries on Panini's work. "It cites the text of the Sutra", writes I-Tsing, "and explains minutely its manifold meaning, consisting altogether of 18,000 slokas. It exposes the laws of the universe and the regulations of gods and men. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it after five years." would appear from this account that what the students had learnt by rote of Panini's Sutras at the age of eight, was not explained to them by means of this commentary - a process which took five years of intense study. With this grounding in Sanskrit, which was the medium of instruction in higher studies, the students were eligible to join the course in the University. As the same writer says: "If men of China go to India for study they have

^{1.} Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 172-175.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 175.

first of all to learn this (grammatical) work, (and) then other subjects-; if not, their labour will be thrown away."

Presumably the <u>Vritti-Sūtra</u> was also one of the subjects included in the Matriculation curricula, proficiency in which opened the gates to the University.

The other subjects taught in the secondary stage were <u>Śilpavidyā</u> (art), <u>Abhidharmokosa</u> (metaphysics), <u>Cikitsavidyā</u> (medicine), <u>Hētuvidyā</u> (logic), and probably arithmetic.²

In the University the study of these various subjects was continued. The students learnt 'composition in prose and verse' and devoted themselves to logic (Hetuvidya), and metaphysics (abhidharmakosa). They sharpened their wits by the study of Nyaya-dvaratarka-Sastra, a science which taught them to distinguish between valid and invalid inferences; while the training in the Jatakamala augmented their powers of comprehension. An idea of the courses available at Nalanda may perhaps be obtained from what the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang says concerning the studies which the latter did at Nalanda. At this University, we are told Hiuen Tsiang heard the explanation of yogasastra, Nyaya-nu-sara-sastra, Pranyamula-sastra, Sata-sastra. He studies the latter two sastras particularly to overthrow the conclusions of the Sankhya philosophy of the Brahmanas. And the

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Beal, (Hwui Li), Life of Hieun Tsiang, pp. 112, 153.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 177.

^{4.} Beal, op.cit., pp. 112 and 127. The object of Pranyamula-sastra and Sata-Sastra as Hwui Li says, was to refute the yoga. (Cf. Beal, op.cit., p. 157).

fact that he was ultimately successful in overcoming the exponents of this school, proves that the study of these subjects at the Buddhist centres must have been thorough. Hiven Tsiang, we are told further, mastered from 'beginning to end' "the numerous productions of secular (gutside) writers: the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, on the medical art, magic, and arithmetic."

Astronomy certainly formed an important subject at Nalanda, since lofty astronomical observatories are referred to by Hiven Tsiang's biographer, who says "the observaroties seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms towere above the clouds"; and continuing, "From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and the monn (may be observed)."

It was natural that Buddhist theology and philosophy should have been accorded an eminent place at the Buddhist universities as can be made out from Hwui Li's remark that "The priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing therein), always reach to the number of 10,000 who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 164. 2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 153.

^{3.} Beal, op.cit. (Hwui Li), p. 111. According to the Cullavaga (VIII, 6, 3) Bukkhus had to learn the station (of the moon) in the constellations either in whole or in part and they were also supposed to know the directions of the sky. While on the other hand the low arts like that of divinition, spells omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcrafts and quackery were forbidden to them both for learning and teaching (Cf. Cullavagga, V, 33, 3).

sects."

It was probably during this period that the Mahayana branched of into two schools of thought viz. <u>sunyavada</u> and <u>vijnanavada</u>, which expressed respectively the philosophical and metaphysical aspects of this doctrine. The text book in philosophy was probably Santaraksita's <u>Tattvasangraha</u>² with the commentary of his pupil Kamalasika.

Nor were secular studies neglected at these centres of learning. We know for instance that Hiuen-Tsiang "practised himself in the <u>sabdavidyā</u>, a synopsis of which he drew up in the square and grass characters... He also wrote (copied) some four hundred chapters of sutras and Sastras whilst at Nālandā."

The Sūtras and Sāstras mentioned here must have included the <u>Vidyā-mantra-siddhi-sāstra</u>, <u>Mūlabhidharma-sāstra</u>, <u>Sādharmā-sāmparigraha-sāstra</u>, <u>Prasikasa-sātya-sāstra</u> (as received in the Sammatiya school), <u>Mahāyanasa-parigraha</u>, etc. as all these works are referred to either by Hiuen Tsiang or his biographer while narrating the courses of his studies.

Besides these subjects, advanced scholars (post-graduate) as we know from I-Tsiang's account, studied the commentaries on different works. One such commentary of which we know was a commentary on the <u>Vritti-Sutras</u>, entitled Curni, which contained

^{1.} Ibid., p. 112.

^{2.} G.O.S., XXX

^{3.} Beal, op.cit., p. xxix.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 139.

^{5. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 153. 6. <u>Ibid</u>.

Ibid.
 Ibid.

^{8. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., I, p. 78.

24,000 <u>slokas</u>¹. About this work I-Tsing has recorded that "It is a work of the learned Patangali", and it "cites the former Sutras (Panini), explaining the obscure points (lit. 'piercing the skin') and analysing the principles contained in it, and it illustrates the latter commentary (<u>Vritti</u>), clearing up many difficulties." The study of this work took three years of intense labour, and it is compared by I-Tsing to that of learning the Chun-Chin and the Yi-king in China.

The Bhartrhari-sastra came next and was a commentary on the above commentary. It was written by the great scholar Bhartrhari. The work, as I-Tsing says, "contains 25,000 ślokas, and fully treats of the principles of human life as well as of grammatical science, and also relates the reasons of the rise and decline of many families. The author of this work being well acquainted with the doctrine of "sole knowledge' (Vidyā-mātra) has skillfully discussed about (sic) the Hetu and Udāharana (the cause and example of logic). This was followed by another work of the same scholar, the Vākya-discourse containing 700 ślokas with its commentary portion of 7,000 ślokas more. The work was a "treatise on the Inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching, and on Inductive arguments." After the completion of these books a third work of Bhartrhari, the Fei-na (Beda or Veda) was taken up. The work contained

^{1.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 178.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 178-179.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 180.

about 3,000 slokas with a commentary of a scholar named
Dharmapala, comprising 14,000 slokas. According to I-Tsing
this book "fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and
treats of the philosophy of man (lit. the essential beauty of
the human principles)."

The Buddhist priests studied this
work alongside the Vinaya pitaka and the Vedas, to oppose the
doctrines of the heretics. The Peina was a difficult treatise
so that only a few in each generation could claim proficiency
in it and have their claim recognized. And finally the alumni
underwent training in what may be termed research, to use the
phraseology of a later age, in all these branches of study. We
know it for a fact that compilation of encyclopaedias of theology,
philosophy, logic, grammar and so forth formed part of this
training.

The method of teaching at Nalanda and therefore at Valabhi also, was tutorial as well as professorial. The former seems to have been used at the primary and secondary stages, while in the University the professorial system largely prevailed. An idea of the tutorial system may be gleaned from I-Tsing's account wherein he says "He (student) goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last in the night. First the teacher bids him sit down comfortably, (selecting some passages) from the Tripitakas, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances,

^{1.} Ibid., p. 181.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 177.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 181.

and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupils faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent." It is only under the tutorial system that such a personal contact between the teacher and the taught could have been maintained. "Rather be a butcher than be a priest", says the Mulasarvastivadanikanja Vinaya Sangraha (XIII, II), " a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught."2 The Mahavagga ordained that the acharya should consider his pupil as his son, while the pupil should look upon the teacher as his father. This cordiality between the two was sure to produce good results: the student receiving all assistance from his Upadhyaya ... In fact the preceptors were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered, and as there were no examinations at fixed intervals for a 'mass promotion' of students to a new class, the system could work well. It enabled the more intelligent to finish their studies earlier, while in the case of others, the teachers would go on repeating their instructions until they were satisfied about the perfect mastery of the subjects taught. Revision of old lessons went on alongside the new ones, which has

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 120.

^{2.} Ibid.
3. Vide, Samaddar, The Glories of Magadha, p. 151.

^{4. &}quot;In all Sanskrit Sutras and Vinaya texts the term Upadhyaya is used and it is translated as 'teacher of personal instruction'", this remark of the learned traveller I-Tsing also supports the existence of a tutorial system. Cf. Takakusu, op.cit., p. 118.

the students learned from day to day, as I-Tsing remarks, "He (student) acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute."

But it was the professorial system that seems to have been specially suited to the conditions of the Buddhist universities. These universities were nothing else but large brotherhoods of monks, and hence by the very nature of their being, were compelled to go in for congregational education. If we are to believe the Dhamadattakatha, a student who went to Taxasila to acquire knowledge of Silpa had 500 fellow students taking the course with him. 2 But happily it was not the primary or secondary education that was dispensed in these viharas, the alumni there being advanced students and senior monks. Like the professors in our universities of the present day, the teachers at these Buddhist centres lectured to large groups. But the students were not left to themselves. The teachers took care to maintain personal contact with their disciples who were encouraged to approach them and have their difficulties solved. I-Tsing observes that he was benefitted immensely from the intimate conversations he used to have with his teachers.5 This personal contact was also promoted by the discussions that were held in the seminars, which must have benefitted the students who took leading part in the debates as well as those that merely

^{1.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 117.

^{2.} Dhamadattakatha, (Pali text. Soc. ed. I), p. 250.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 184.

listened to them. 1

The obvious disadvantages inherent in the professorial system, were to a certain extent redressed by placing groups of younger scholars under senior fellows. This is kinted at both by Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing. For while the one says in connection with the studies at Nalanda that "the young and the old mutually help one another,"2 the other observes that "instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they (the students) pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhi (Wala) in Western India."3 instance in point is the story mentioned in the Jatakas of the Kuru prince Sutasoma, who on having completed his studies earlier than his brother, the heir-apparent of Banares, was required to help the latter.4 It may be observed that this system prevailed in India as late as the nineteenth century, and Andrew Bell who saw it actually working at Madras, had it introduced in England, and it became famous under the name of monitorial system.

The main feature of the training, both at the university and the schools, was the importance given to memory work. This was done by reciting different difficult works, the meaning of which the student learnt at a later stage of his study. This

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 177; Beal, <u>op.cit.</u>, I, p. 170.

^{2.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 70.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 177.

^{4.} Cf. <u>Sutasoma Jātaka</u>, No. 537.
5. Cf. Muzumdar, <u>A History of Education in Ancient India</u>, p. 68;
Altekar, <u>Education in Ancient India</u>, p. 430.

^{6.} Altekar, op.cit., pp. 425-27.

memory work was made easy by the use of rhime, even in works like dictionaries and elementary works on grammar, which were generally composed in verse. A scholar who consulted notes or books in discourse was hardly respected. I-Tsing had occasion to observe this wonderful memory training at the University. According to him after "a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice)," and he further says "This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men." In those days of memory-training, we are told, the highest ambition of an author was that his book should be memorised by scholars and become 'an ornament on their neck."

University education was in sooth a distinct contribution of Buddhism to ancient Indian civilization. It would appear that in pre-Buddhist days the various studies were not coordinated one with another in a graduated series. The teaching in the <u>asramas</u> seems to have been rather personal in that the instruction under one teacher did not at all depend upon the teaching of the others. A student for instance, who having completed the courses available at a particular <u>asrama</u>, wished to pursue a new subject, usually

^{1.} Cf. Ibid.: पुस्तकस्थानु का विद्या परहस्तान घनम्।
कार्यकाले समुतान्ते न सा विद्या न तद्वनम्। Subhāshi tam.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 183.

^{4.} तेन वीत्या विश्वितामिदं काव्यमच्याजकान्ती कणा हेन्द्री जगति विदुषांकछभू इत्यमेयात्। Vikraman kande Vacharita, 18: 102.

had to go to another asrama for this purpose. With the establishment of the <u>viharas</u> this difficulty was solved, and courses in the known sciences were imparted at one and the same centre.

The Buddhist viharas were built on the principle of the monastic brotherhood where the students lived a peaceful intelletual life. The main object of these viharas being the spread of Buddhist doctrines, the students were provided with all facilities for their studies. The number of students at these viharas like Valabhi, Nalanda, and others, was undoubtedly very great. know from the account of Hiuen Tsinng that at Valabhi alone there were "about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayana Sammatiya school."3 Each of these monasteries was like a separate college under an abbot where compulsory training was given both for spiritual practice, higher literature, and other sciences of the age.4 The courses must have taken at least a period of ten years of a student's life.5 the number of students and the preceptors at Nalanda, we are told that there were about 1,500 teachers at the disposal of 6,500 students who frequented these viharas in search of truth.6 This proportion of teachers to the students is undoubtedly a

^{1.} Ghosh, "University Education in Ancient India", Maha Boddhi, p. 111.

^{2.} Mookerjee, "Universities in Ancient India with special reference to Ayurvedia Studies," J.U.P.H.S., XV, pt. I, p. 22.

^{3.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 266.

^{4.} Ghosh, op.cit., pp. 111-114.

^{5.} Ibid., Takakusu, op.cit., p. 103.

^{6.} Mookerjee, op.cit., p. 22.

very large one compared to that of the colleges of our times, and it would suggest that inspite of the prevalence of the professorial system great care was taken to build up the career of the students in different walks of life. An arresting feature of their organisation was the equality of opportunities which were made available both to rich and poor to attend these institutions, as the students were not required to pay any fees. They were practically state-foundations which also received benefactions from the faithful. Speaking of such benefactions, Fa Hian, an early Chinese traveller, says that "the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaisyas built viharas for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that afterwards they were handed down from king to king," and again "people around supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require."3 Even food seems to have been

^{1.} We have for instance epigraphical references like the Gohaka vihara (probably a monk) the Abhayantarika vihara built by the nun Mimmā, the Ajjita and the Kakka vihara built by traders, the Vimalagupta vihara built by achary bhiksu Vimala gupta, the Sthiramati vihāra, kuik the Yaksasura vihāra, the Purnna bhatta vihāra, the Yodhāvaka vihāra built by Diviraputti Skanda bhatta and the Vamsakatā vihāra built by King Siladitya I himself, all these show that both the kings and the rich citizens made benefactions for the vihāras either from the time of the foundations of the vihāras or by supporting the vihāras built by the monks and named after them only; Cf. Beal, (Hwui Li), op.cit., p. 113.

^{2.} Legge, Fa Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 43. 3. Ibid., p. 89.

provided for a section of the students. This section certainly included those students who were intending to take the tonsure (and become black-robed), and were **called the manavas. But there were besides the students (Bramacarin), who, as I-Tsing says, were making themselves useful to the Sangha, and who were therefore to be fed by the monastery according to their merit. They were possibly maintained from the donations made for this specific purpose, since the rules of the vihara prohibited the students to be maintained from the permanent property of the Sangha.

Thus with the regal and other donations which they constantly received, the original monasteries went on enlarging until in course of time they came to consist of a series of structures to which we may well apply the term university. An idea of these structures of which these monasteries consisted may be obtained from the account of Hiuen Tsiang's biographer, who has given a beautiful pen picture of a vihāra as it actually existed at Nālandā in the seventh century. He says, "the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other walls, standing in the middle (of the Sangharama). The richly adorned towars, and

^{1.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 150.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 106.

^{3.} Ibid., p.

the fairy-like turrents, like painted hill-tops, are congregated together. He also refers to the observatories, whose lifty towers seemed lost in the clouds², and then goes on to speak of "the deep translucent ponds, (which) bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amara groves (which) spread over all, their shade." "All the outside courts," the traveller continues, "in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured caves, the pearred pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene. The sangharamas of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."

This description of the Nalanda monastery may be supplemented by the general description of monasteries which Hiuen
Tsiang has given: "The Buddhist monasteries are of most remarkable architecture. They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high walls in a tier. The rafters and roofbeams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours. The houses of the laity are sumptuous inside, and economical outside. The

^{1.} Beal, (Hwui Li), Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 111-12.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid.

inner rooms and the central hall, vary in their dimensions and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. The doors open to the east and the throne faces east."

The Cullavagga adds that the viharas were the full fledged houses, where verandahs covered terraces, overhanging caves, store rooms and service halls, gradually came to be built as the number of Bhikkus went on increasing.

Another interesting feature of the <u>viharas</u> was that the libraries were housed in building specially built for that purpose We are told for instance that the library of the Nālanda monastery was situated in the Dharmaganja ('Piety-Mart'), and consisted of three magnificent buildings named Ratnasagara, Ratnodadhi and Ratnaranjaka. In the Ratnodadhi, which had nine-stories, manuscripts of sacred books like the <u>Prainaparamitasutra</u>, Tantric and other works were preserved. The existence of a similar library at Valabhi may be inferred from the grants of the Maitra-

6. Hirananda Sastri, op.et.loc.cit.: Vidyabhusana, "History of the Mediaeval School," I.A., VII, p. 67.

^{1.} The reference to the door opening to the east may probably show that the belief prevailed as it still persists among some people, that the institution would go on prospering for ever.

^{2.} Watters, op.cit., I, p. 147; Beal, op.cit., p. 74.

^{3.} The Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, 6.

^{4.} Hirananda Sastri, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. (Nalanda and its Epigraphical Materials), No. 66, pp. 7ff.

^{5.} This is a defence of the Mahayanic philosophy by Nagarjuna, whose main object appears to be the refutation of all the heretic systems, be they Buddhist or Brahmanic.

kas which record donations made for the collection of books.

with cow-dung and strewn with fresh leaves.² At dinner the monks sat on rattan cane chairs seven inches high, which were placed at a distance of one cubit from each other, while junior members took their meals, seating on blocks of wood.³ This practice was peculiar to the Buddhists, and differed from the usual Hindu custom of squatting at the time of meal.

About the residential quarters of the monks, details are unhappily lacking in the accounts of the Chinese travellers.

I-Tsing dismisses this matter with the casual remark that "the assembly assigned to venerable priests, if very learned, and also to those who thoroughly studied one of the three collections (of the scriptures) some of the best rooms (of the monastery) and servants."

The <u>Cullavagga</u>, however, supplies this deficiency, when it says that the vihāras were the full-fledged houses in whice the living rooms of the priests were furnished with luxurious furniture, cushions, chairs, armchairs, sofars, bedsteads, and others. All these were provided out of the donations of the benefactors. Further we are told that the walls of these monasteries were coloured red and white-washed, while the floor was coloured black. Thus the vihāras, in conformity with the

^{1.} Buhler, "Additional Valabhi Grants," I.A., VII, pp. 67ff.

^{2.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 23.

^{3.} Ibid.,

^{4.} Ibid., p. 64.

^{5.} Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, 6.

^{6. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, ¥I, 3, 1.

spirit of Buddhisth to which the puritan simplicity of the ancient rsis is alien, were more commodicus and comfortable with rich decorations than the dwellings of the Hindu sages of the period.

The constitution of the Buddhist Sangha was apparently inspred by the republican government² of the tribes of north-east India from whom the early Buddhist Bhikkus had been recruited.³ Accordingly it was the Sangha as a corporate unit that was vested with legal personality, and all work was performed in its name.⁴ The monks met in an assembly to deliberate on questions of importance⁵ to the menastery under the presidentship⁶ of a virtuous monk³, and the decision of this body was deemed supreme in all matters.⁸ The general will was ascertained by a majority of votes,⁹ the minimum number of the members as fixed in the Vinaya texts being present¹⁰, though voting by proxy (khanḍa) was not

^{1.} We are also told by I-Tsing that whilst going out, the senior monks were carried in sedan-chairs, while the juniors went on horseback; Cf. Takakusu, op.cit., p. 68.

^{2.} Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 137.

^{3.} Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 2 (1903)

^{4.} Rhys Davids, Psalms of Brethren, pp. 36, 168.

^{5.} The questions taken up by an assembly were mostly relating to the Dharma, Vinaya, teachings, practices, and ordainments of the Tathagata, besides those of the nature of ecclesiastical offences (cf. Cullavagga, VII, 5, 2). Other questions such as the character of an individual, or connecte with constitutional matters of the Sangha, were also taken up by such assemblies. (Cf. Dutt, op.cit., pp. 154-155).

^{6. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 143.

^{7.} Ibid.

^{8.} Ibid., p. 152.

^{9. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 159ff.

^{10.} Mahavagga, IX, 4, 1. The minimum number of monks given in the above text constituted the quorums but not the committee.

disallowed. All these conditions were necessary for making an act of the Sangha valid, and once its validity was accepted. the act became res judicata and the question was taken to have been settled once and for all. The equality among members was further safeguarded by the rule that no principal office was to be instituted in the assembly, and that when any business came up, it was to be settled by the assembly itself. This rule was so rigidly observed that, as I-Tsing remarks, "if any priest decided anything by himself alone, or treated the priests favourably or unfavourably, at his own pleasure, without regarding the will of the assembly, he was expelled (from the monastery) being called a Kulapati (i.e. he behaved like a householder)".4 gradation of the Bhikkhus, moreover, was not based on the social ranks held by their respective families, as was the case in the gurukulas of the rsis, but on their own spiritual progress and intellectual attainments. Thus one who knew the five Nikayas was called Pamcanekayika, and he who had mastered the Pitakas was called the Pētāki8; similarly one who could repeat the texts

^{1.} Ibid., IX, 3, 9; Dutt, op.cit., p. 151.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 152.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 62.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 63.

^{5.} Gautama Dharma Sutra, I, Sutra 29.

^{6.} Mahavagga, I, 53, 4.

^{7.} Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p. 123.

^{8.} The masters of Sutta-ippitaka and Vinaya Pitaka were called the Suttantika and Vinayika respectively, cf. Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p. 10.

was styled Bhanaka and one who knew the Sutras containing instructive discourses was called Sutamtika. Finally a master of Abhiddhamma was styled Abhiddhammika and he who emerged triumphant from a public debate won the designation of Vadi⁴.

Finally, the equality of membership was brought home to the Bhikkhus by the idea of community of property emphasized in the sacred texts: "So long as the Brethren shall divide without partiality, any share in common with the upright and the holy, all such thing as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl, so long may the Brethren be expected, not to decline but to prosper."

Naturally enough, everything in the Sangha including whatever was handed over to individual Bhikkhus was considered as communal property. "Whenever anything even a stalk of vegetable" writes I-Tsing, "was given (to the priests) by other persons, they

^{1.} Repeater of Jataka was styled as Jataka-bhanaka (cf. Ibid., p. 10), that of the <u>Digha-Nikaya</u> was called the <u>Digha-bhanaka</u> and the Majjhima-bhanaka, Samyutta-bhanaka and Anguttara-bhanaka were the repeaters of texts denoting their respective titles. (cf. <u>Ibid.</u>). The essential duty of a Bhanaka consisted in recitation or rehearsal of the sacred texts with a view to preserving and handling them down by oral tradition

^{2.} Ibid., p. 9.

^{3.} Ibid.,

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} The Digha Nikaya-Mahaparinibbana-Suttanta, i, ii; cf. Dutt, op.cit., p. 185. The translation given above is an adaptatio of and an improvement of that of T.W. and C.A. Rhys Davids, The Sacred Books of the Buddhist Dialogues of the Buddha, II, p. 85.

made use of it through the assent of the assembly."1

On joining a monastery the aspirant was shaved, bathed and was given a pata (simple garment). Thereafter he received the Upasampada ordination, which opened to him the portals of the Sangha of which he became a regular member. As such he could take part in all its proceedings except the training of the novices. The stage he now entered upon is aptly described as 'Nissaya' from the fact that he had to be a dependent on an acharya (a senior monk) appointed by the Sangha and live under his spiritual tutelage. This period extended over a term of ten years in the case of an average Bhikkhu, which in that of an exceptionally learned monk was of only five years duration, while an incapable Bhikkhu had to keep it even all his life. The result of this was that though in theory a Bhikkhu even at the Nissaya stage was deemed to be on a footing of equality in the monastery, in actual practice this equality dwindled to the castin

^{1.} The ceremony to be performed at the admittance of a monk into the Buddhist Sangha was called Upasampadā. It might be sought by one who had previously been a Paribrajaka belonging to a different sect, or one who wanted straight way to pass into the Buddhist Sangha from household life. (cf. Dutt, op.cit., p. 177). In the early days of Buddhism, a person desirous of monkhood had to request the Buddha for accepting him as a member of the Sangha and the Buddha accepted him wit the simple utterance of 'Ehi-Bhikkhu' etc. Later on with the spread of the creed the right was transferred to the other disciples also and Upasampada became the regular practice of the entire Sangha.

^{2.} Mahavagga, I, 25, 5.

^{3.} Ibid., I, 32, 1; Takakusu, op.cit., p. Dutt, op.cit., 180

^{4.} Mahavagga, I, 53, 4.

of votes merely at the meeting of the assembly. And even this privilege was reduced to a formality, thanks to the pressure brought to bear upon the younger members by the polling officer known as Salakagahapaka². On completing this period of probation or ten summer retreats as it was called, the Bhikkhu was given the position of a Sthavira (elder) monk, which meant a 'settled persion' of the monastery. It was only this type of teachers who could become Upādhyāyas and teach at the Vihāras.⁴

It was from among the Sthavaras that appointments were made to the administration officers in the monastery by a <u>Natti</u> or a resolution taken in the assembly. The qualifications required were an upright character made up of qualities such as prudence, fortitude, charity and justice. The superior of the vihara was, as a rule, a venerable old monk selected for his exceptional learning besides the qualities deemed essential for holding any administrative post in the monastery. Next to him

1. Dutt, op.cit., pp. 159-161.

3. I-Tsing speaks of yet another stage that of Cha-ga-na (i.e.Daha meaning a small teacher. Cf. Takakusu, op.cit.,pp.104, 109

^{2. &}quot;The voting was done by means of the distribution of marked pieces of wood called Salaka, which were subsequently counted and the majority ascertained thereby. The polling officer was therefore called Salakagahapaka." Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Dutt, cp.cit., p. 187.

^{6.} Cullavaga, VIII, 6,1, IX. (Vinaya Texts, III, 6 p. 25.)
7. Beal, (Hwui Li) Life of Hiuen Tsing, p. xxxvii (Introduction)
In the face of the direct reference of Hwui Li to a superior while describing the working of the Nalanda vihara, the state ment of Dutta that "the idea of a paramount authority of a person - a recognised head, a spiritual dictator, an abbot or a Ganadhara - was foreign to the republican constitution of an early Buddhist Sangha" (Dutt, op.cit., p. 145), seems but a conjucture not borne out by facts.

came the viharasvami also styled viharapala and karmadana. an officer to whom after the superior the "utmost defence"xwas deference" was paid. He regulated the religious life of the community and the internal management of the Vihara. Next to the karmadana was probably the Weina (Vena i.e. the Sun) an habitual early riser, who acted as a sub-director of the vihara. He assisted the Karmadana in looking after the general management of the vihara. Next came the treasurer, who kept an account of the property of the monastery, both in eash and kind, while the actual office work was done by the karnika, who as the name implies, did most of the clerical work. Other officers of the Buddhist viharas that we know of were the polling officers, the gate-keepers, and the president of the Uposatha assembly. Althoug these officers were appointed temporarily, their status was not less esteemed. Great power was vested in the polling officer. He could refuse to accept a majority decision, if he felt that the same was not in consonance with the precepts of the Dhamma, and an compel the assembly to go to the poll again, and yet again, till the right decision was reached. As we have already pointed out the gate-keeper was an examiner charged with the duty of admitting only such of the candidates as had reached the standared expected

^{1.} Beal, op.et.loc.cit.

^{2.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 148.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Beal, (Hwui Li), op.cit., XXXVII

^{5.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 242; Salatore, op.cit., p. 596.

^{6.} Dutt, op.cit., p. 161.

of them by the University. 1

The internal management of the monastery was regulated in this way. The lodging of the monks was entrusted to two officials called Vinayadhara and Dharmadhara, while their seats in the assembly were assigned according to rank by the asanapannapaka². The Bhandagarika was in charge of stores; and the Bhatudesaka looked after the distribution of food. "The officer in charge of the buildings and establishments of the fiharas was called navakamma. He was required to possess a thorough knowledge of engineering for the purpose of building and repairing the structures of the monasteries. And lastly, the

^{1.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 171; Takakusu, op.cit., p. 148.

^{2.} Cullavagga, XII, 2, 7; Bhagavat, op.cit., p. 153.

^{3.} Cullavagga, VI, 21, 2.

^{4.} Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 17, 123.

^{5. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 13 (Nos. 27,) 123; <u>Cullavagga</u>, VI, 17, 2.

^{6.} Bhagavat, op.cit., p. 152.

aramikapasaka looked after the aramikas or the parks.1

It was only natural that a highly organised community, such as the Buddhist vihāra, should soon have acquired an autonomous status. I-Tsing reports about the vihāras of his own days that the priests there "submitted to their own laws, without ever giving any trouble to the public rourt;" and further that "once a monk had his name entered in the roll of the

^{1.} Ibid., This officer was helped by a Parisandavarika who looked after the groves of a monastery. Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 83; Bhagavat, op.cit., p. 153. There was also a civarapatiggahapaka (Cullavagga, VI, 21, 2) who was in charge of wardrobe. He was an officer who received robes from layman on behalf of the Sangha for the monks residing in the vihara. This officer was helped by a Satiyagahapaka i.e. a distributor of undergarments and a Kathinavittiharika i.e. one who distributed a Kathina (Cf. Bhagavat, op.cit., p. 152). This work of examining water for the monks residing in the vihara was done by a Saddhiviharika whose duty was to see that the water to be used at the vihara was properly filttered (Mahavagga I, 25, 15; Takakusa, op.cit., p. 62). He had also to wait after the Upadhyayas and look for their requirements. This officer possibly looked after the judicial department of the monastery and took care to sentance a Upadhyaya to Parivasa discipline (Cf. Mahavagga, I, 25, 21). The Kappiya-karaks received gifts of money on behalf of the monastery and converted into commodities required. He also ascertained what provision was allowable and what was not (Dutt, 187). The officers who helped the Bhatudesaka were a civabhajaka, i.e. distributor of congey, (Dutt, 187), Yagubhajaka (distributor of rice-pulp (shid), a Khajja-bhujaka (i.e. distributor of dry sweets,) and Falabhajaka (i.e. distributor of fruits). Then again there was an officer Pattagahaka who was in charge of the store of bowls and their distribution among the monks (Cullavagga VI, 21, 3), Rupiyacchadaka disposed of bullion (Vinaya text I, p. 24.); and lastly there was an appamattaka vissajjaka who looked after getting and distributing small articles like needles, pair of scissors, sandles, etc. (Cullavagga, VI, 21, 3).

^{2.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 63.

the monastery, he ceased to have any "concern with the register of the state."1

The student-life in these viharas was simple and systemati we may almost say sublime. The students were subject to the same rules and regulations as were the priests, their preceptors, so long as they lived within the four walls of the viharas rules which were calculated to induce in them regularity and "These laws", says Fa Hian, "regulating their simple habits. demeanour in sitting, rising and entering when the others are assembled, are those which have been practised by all the saints since the Buddha was in the world."2 They rose at sun-rise.3 and having finished their toilet and bath they took a walk round the temple and worshipped. 4 This was followed by breakfast which consisted of rice-water. They then prepared their lessons for the day; After which presumably their schools began. At mid-day they had a full meal at which cakes, rice, butter, curds, milk, fruits and at times meat were served.

^{1.} Ibid., p. 65.

^{2.} Legge, op.cit., pp. 89-90.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 116-17. 4. Ibid., pp. 17, 116.

^{5.} Ibid., p. 117.

^{6.} The students also went to their preceptor at the last watch of the night when they learnt every thing about the passage which they studied in course of the day and as I-Tsing observed that a preceptor "does not pass any fact of theories unexplained." Ibid., p. 120.

^{7.} Legge, op.cit., p. 42; Takakusu, op.cit., p. 26.

^{8.} Ibid., p. 40.

^{9.} Cullavagga, V, 5; Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 40-44.
10. Ibid., op. 43 and 58; Beal, (Hwui Li), op.cit., p. 113.
The bhikkhus were allowed to eat three kinds of meat without incurring any guilt.

They were required to observe complete silence during the meal and were not to get up before it was finished. It is interesting to note that as at the present day, there prevailed the custom of chewing nut-megs mixed with cloves and bros-camphor after each meal, a practice intended to counteract bad odour in the mouth and aid digestion.

Uniformity prevailed in the matter of dress, and no distinction existed between the poor and the rich in this regard. They wore three robes as prescribed by the Vinaya-Texts. They wore a double waist-cloth (uttara-sanga), a single upper robe (Sanghati) and a single under garment (antarvasaka). translator of the Mahavagga describes the mode of wearing these robes as follows: "The waist-cloth (Sanghati) was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under-garment (antaravasaka) was wrapped round the loins and reached below the knee, being fastened round by an end of the cloth being tucked in these; and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper whe robe (uttarasamga) was wrapped round the legs from the loins to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either allowed to fall down in front or (as is still the custom in Burma, and in the Burmese sect

^{1.} Mahavagga, I, 25, 5.

^{2.} Cullavagga, VI, 10, 1.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.et.loc.cit.

^{4.} Mahavagga, VIII,12, 2; Watters, op.cit., I, p. 119; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 76; Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 72 ff.

^{5.} Mahavagga, VIII, 15 44, 2.

in Ceylon) drawn back again over the right shoulder, allowed to fall down on the back."

These robes which were of yellow colour, are characterized by I-Tsing as religious garments, but as students were required to use them, they way as aptly be called academical. In winter the alumni were more sumptuously clad, to but during summer they had a conform to the manner of dress prescribed in the Vinaya text.

The student community of the times, however, had few games and amusements to relieve the tedium of the daily round of duties. Many of the games which in our eyes are innocent, were forbidden to them no less than those which were clearly unmoral, if not immoral, such as gambling. Denouncing the monks of a former age who indulgged in these amusements, the Cullavagga says: "They used to amuse themselves at games with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substances from a heap without asking shaking the remainder; and with games at dice, and trap-ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with minic ploughs, tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having chariot races, and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other people's thoughts, and mimicking other people's acts; - and they

^{1.} Wakawagaa, Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 72-74; Mahavagga, VIII, 13, 4 p. 212 note 2.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid.

used to practise elephant riding, and horse riding, and carriage driving, and archery, and swords manship; - and they used to run to and fro in front of elephants, and in front of horses, and in front of carriages; - and they used to exhibit signs of anger, and to wring their hands, and to we wrestle, and to box with their fists; - and spreading their robes out as a stage they used to invite dancing girls, saying, "Here you may dance, sister!" and great her with applause."2 This left the viharas a very narrow choice indeed, which was limited to pastimes like swimming, and taking walks. 4 The ban on the indoor games, however, could not be rigorously enforced and these may have been indulged in by the student community secretly and covertly. For curiously enough among the finds at the Nalanda excavations are precisedly gaming dice, from which Mr. Page has remarked that "The Buddhist brethren here were not altogether above the amusements of less austere humanity."5

All the same, the rules of discipline were strictly observed at these Buddhist seats of learning. As for the priests we have the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang that the "rules of Nalanda" were severe and the conduct of the priests pure and blameless,"

^{1.} In the seventh century I-Tsing observed that the junior members rode on horse-back, while the senior went in Sedan-chairs, Takakusu, optet..loc.cit.

^{2.} Cullavagga, 13, 2.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., pp. 107-109.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 144.

^{5.} Arch. Sur. of India, Annual Report, 1923-24, p. 74.

^{6.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 170.

(a verdict which may with equal propriety be applied to Valabhi), and the same authority has it that "during 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules."

This is all the more remarkable inasmuch as corporal punishment was unknown at these institutions, and the highest punishment that was inflicted was expulsion therefrom, a punishment meeted out only to serious acts of immorality which we were indeed rare occurrences.

Finally, the students closed their scholastic career with a public examination at which they were required to defend some thesis. Difficulties were proposed against it and their passing of the examination depended on solving them to the satisfaction of the learned audience. "And then," says I-Tsing, "their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate, and their renown flows, as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land, and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like."³

(B) HINDU-SYSTEM

The capital of a Hindu dynasty, it was but natural that Valabhi should have acquired renown as a seat of Hindu learning

^{1.} Beal, (Hwui Li), op.cit., pp. 112-3.

^{2.} Patimokha, <u>Samgha diseasa Dhamma</u>; Takakusu, <u>op.et.loc.cit</u>; Watters, <u>op.cit.</u>, I, 344; Beal, <u>op.cit.</u>, I, p. 214.

^{3.} Takakusu, op.cit., p. 178.

as well. Though the material at our disposal is too scanty to allow us to infer the existence of a Hindu university there, it is incredible that the capital should be without a Hindu institution of higher learning. The tradition of Valabhi as a centre of Hindu studies is probably preserved in the Kathasaritasagara, a work of the eleventh century, which narrates a story of Visnudatta, a Brahmana youth from Antarvedi, who went up to Valabhi for prosecuting higher studies even though centres like Benares and Taxila were nearer to his home on the banks of the Ganges. 1 So also a fourteenth century work relates how Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, finding that the local Brahmanas had fallen from their station, went all the way to Valabhi to bring some who could presumably assist him at a sacrifice.2 Though this story has been discredited, epigraphical evidence is not lacking which goes to prove that Valabhi was a nursery of Brahmanas, which supplied learned priests to different parts of India.4 It is, however, strange that among the hundred or more Maitraka inscriptions that have so far been found, there is not even one which records a grant for purposes of education, a

1. Somadeva, Kathasaritasagara, taranga 32, स विष्णुदनो वयसा पूर्ण बोडहायत्सरः। मन्तु प्रबद्धते विद्याप्राच्यचे वस्त्रीपुराष्ट्र॥

^{2.} This is known from the Puttige version of the Gramapadhati, cf. Saletore, Ancient Karnataka, I, pp. 324-5, note, 1; cf. Morae "Notes on the Pre-Kadamba History of Goa," Transaction of the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session, (Hyderabad), p. 167, (1941).

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>
4. Cf. Fleet, "Baroda Grant of Karka I (Rastrakuta)," <u>I.A.</u>, XII, p. 160.

circumstance which rules out the possibility, for the present of at least, of a Hindu university having existed at Valabhi. This, however, does not mean that the Hindus had no institution where they could receive instruction according to their own traditional methods. Orelse, we shall not be able to explain the great literary activity that went on at the court as well as in the country throughout the Maitraka period. It is well-known that Bhattibhatta, the author of the famous Bhattikavya or the Ravana-vadha, wrote under the patronage of the Maitraka king Dharasena.

Then again the Maitraka copper-plates refer to various Brahmanas as students of the different Vedic studies, for instance, a Brahmana named Rudragopa is described as a student of Atharva-Veda, while another is spoken of as a student of the Vajesaneya Sakha and the Kauthumi Sakha of the Sama Veda. Finally, the same records in describing the literary accomplishments of the Maitraka rulers, show that the Hindu learning was far from being neglected, and was actually at a premium in their realm. An idea of the state of this learning may perhaps be gauged from some of the titles assumed by these rulers. For example the titles 'Samyag-upalaksitanka-sastra' and 'Sakala-smrti-pramitamarggaparipalana-praja-hudaya ranjanad-anvartha-raja-sabdah' of king Dharasena II and his predecessor Guhasena show that great importance was attached to the Dharmasastra literature.4 the description of King Dhruvasena I wa as well- versed in philo-

⁽Foot note continued from the previous page)

The other known commentaries are the Kalpadipika, by Pundariksa; the Vaijavanti by Kandarpachakravarti; the Bhattichandrika by Vidhyaginod; the Magdhabodha by Ramanand; the Mugahabodhini by Bharatmattika; the Subodhini by Kumudananda the Bhattabodhini by Narayana-Vidhyavinod, the Subodhini by Rairchandrachsati, the Kalapadipika by Vidhyasagara; the Bhasavrti by Purushotam and the Sarvapathin by Mallinatha. All these show the importance of the work.

^{1.} Cf. Diskalkar, "Bhadva Copper-plates of Dharasena II", A.B.O.I.

IV, p. 33; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 69.

2. Diskalkar, "Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I," E.I., XI, p. 112; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 26.

3. Diskalkar, "A Valabhi Grants," J.B.B.R.A.S.(N.S.P. I, p. 28; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 55; Buhler, "Additional Valabhi Grants," I.A., VII, p. 68.

^{4.} Gadre, "The Amreli Plates of Kharana Important Inscription from the Baroda State, pp. 6 ff.

sophy. dhanurvidya (i.e. science of archary), that of Dronasimha as well-versed in the Smrtis of Manu and others, of Dhruvasena II as having mastered Panini's grammer, of Siladitya I as a poet, and of Siladitya VII as 'Jnata-trayi" i.e. one who possesses the knowledge of the three Vedas, all go to show that these were common subjects of study during the period. Finally, the description of Siladitya I as: "Sarvva - vidya - para parama bhagadhigama - vimala - matih," reveals the religious emphasis which was put on the educational system, for while the 'apara' vidya consisted in the study of the four Vedas and the six Vedangas, the 'para' vidya meant the search for the imperishable 7 or vidya as it was called, and in terms of which all other knowledge was to be estimated.8

The Hindu educational system must have conformed, as in other parts of India, to the time honoured methods. Primary education was probably in the hands of the village school-masters, The course of instruction given who taught in the Pathasalas. in these primary schools consisted of reading, writing and

Buhler, "Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi," <u>I.A.</u>, IV, pp. 174 ff.
 Ibid. "manuadi pranita-vidhi-vidhana-dharma"... etc.

^{2.} Ibid. "manuadi pranita-vidhi-vidhana-dharma ... oto.
3. Fleet, "Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Siladitya VII,"
C.I.I., III, pp. 171 ff.

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^{4.} Acharya, op.cit., No. 71; Bhandarkar, op.cit., I, p. 14; J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 66.

^{5.} Fleet, op.et.loc.cit.

^{6.} Ibid., (lines 11-12).

^{7.} The Mund-aka-Upanisad, I, i, 1-5.

^{8.} Ibid.

arithmetic. 1 Along with these subjects the students were also taught the niti-aastras (Moral precepts) with fables - the most important of which was probably the Pancha-tantra. joining these village schools the "Vidyarambha Sanskara" or as described by some authorities the "Akshara svikaranam" Sanskara was performed. This took place probably in the fifth year of a boy, because the period from the birth to the fifth year was regarded as the time for play. As at present under the system of education in those days also the teachers taught the letters of the alphabet in association with a word beginning with the letter.5

After finishing the course of study in these schools. students were sent to the Gurukulas, where the foundations were laid of their future careers. Upanayana Sanskara (i.e. taking near) was performed before

^{1.} Arthasastra, pp. 10-11.

^{2.} Cf. Majumdar, A History of Education in Ancient India, p. 67.

^{3.} Cf. Altekar, Ancient Indian Education, p. 1.

^{4.} The Visnu Purana. Pt., I, XII, 18.

In a book on astrology (Muhurta-Martanda) auspicious days and hours are mentioned for the commencement of the teaching of the alphabet to children. (a) According to this book the age of a child for commencing education should be three year, (b) while according to Charaka it should be five, (c) the Visnu Purana considers first five years of the life of a child as time for play, (d) and finally, according to the Arthasastra, the same should commence after the Upanayana Samskara.

5. Lalita Vistara. p. 184: cf. Majumdar. op.et.loc.cit.

^{5.} Lalita Vistara, p. 184; cf. Majumdar, op.et.loc.cit.

^{6.} Altekar, op.cit., p. 3.

^{7.} Das, The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus, p. 18.

the commencement of this stage of the student-life, a ceremony which was considered as a momentous event in a boy's life, marking as it were the beginning of his spiritual life. The age for this ceremony in the case of the Brahmana, Kstriya and Vaisya lads respectively was the 8th, 11th and the 12th year.

It was from this time that a period of strenuous study and rigorous exertions for mastering the sacred texts began. Yajñavalkya describes the life of a student after the Upanayana Sanskara as very regular and methodical. The student rose before sun-rise, bathed daily after he got up, made his toilet, and then having sprinkled himself with water while saying apohista-mantra - practised Pranayama (suppression of vital airs) and suryyopasthanam (worship the sun), and then recited the Gayatri. The muttering of the Gayatri was to be performed both at dawn and twilight with fixed attention. He studied (when called upon to do so) and offered to his preceptor whatever he had gathered by begging. For developing active habits the teacher from the very beginning taught him cleanliness, rules of effiquette, the duty of attendance on the sacrificial fire and

^{1.} The Upanayana ceremony of a student of the Ayurveda was to be performed in a special way before Agni by his preceptor. Cf. Mookerjee, J.U.P.H.S., XV, p. 24.

^{2.} Manu Smrti, II, 36.

^{3.} Upadhyaya, "Education and Learning as depicted by Kalidasa," J.B.H.U., IV, p. 53.

^{4.} Yajnavalkya, I, 10-21, p. 3.

^{5.} Manu, II, 69.

^{6.} Yajnavalkya, I, 10-21, Manu, II, 65.

devetions like the Sandhya. The studies of the vedas were considered most important in ancient India, and particular care was taken for pronouncing correctly every syllable and accent. Thus the recital was not mechanical and great attention was given to the subject. The preceptors repeated their instructions until they were satisfied that the students had fully grasped the subjects taught, and it was only then that Hiuen Tsiang who actually observed the Brahmana teachers at work thus describes their way of educating their pupils: "These teachers explain the general meaning(to their disciples) and teach them the minutiae: they rose them to activity and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and acute, are addicted to idle shirking, the teachers doggedly perservere repeating instructions until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindnes

^{1.} The vedic mantras were not permitted to Sudras for the Aryan theologians believed that if there was the slightest mistake in the accent or the pronunciation of the vedic mantra, it would bring about ruin and disastar:

And possibly it was because of this that even after the invention of the art of writing, it was not utilised for preserving and transmitting the Vedic literature. Cf. Panimya Sikse, 32; Af. Altekar, "Method of Teaching Students in Ancient India," Gopala Krsnamacharya Book of Commemoration, p. 425. " That Alle 1973: 1973: 1973 Alle 1974 Alle 1975 Alle 197

of their teachers."1

More details about the dife of students in ancient India ars known from various Hindu sources. It is said that they had to wear simple dress and avoid eating to excess. avoided all sorts of luxuries food such as honey, meat, sweets They were further advised not to use xx scents, garlands, sweet or pungent drinks, and had to observe brahmacharya (celibacy). Further they were required to refrain from smearing the body with oil, painting the eyes with collyrium, dancing, singing, gambling, petty quarrels, calumniating people, telling lies, looking wistfully at women and doing harm to wk other.4 The Hindu Dharmasastras also corroborate the same when they maintain that religion and morality are not "matters of intellect only - that they cannot be so much learnt as practised, and that the atmosphere or environment to which a child is accustomed ix in early years is the most powerful agent in shaping and forming his religious and moral life."5 They embraced the feet of their teacher at the beginning and end of a lecture, a fact which shows the veneration in which the guru was held in

^{1.} Watters, op.cit. I, p. 160.

^{2.} Cantanx Diermax Sutrayx adbyayax Tixx Mily Panxx 9x 18 Manu, II, 44,51

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 177.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 180.

^{5.} Cf. Majumdar, op.cit., pp. 74-76.

^{6.} The Pratisakhya of Rg Veda, XV; Majumdar, Ibid.

those days. The preceptors in turn were required to treat the students with great affection. They had to use sweet and mild words to them. Only in the case of a pupil guilty of grave misdemeanour was he beaten with a rope or a split bomboo on the back and never on a delicate part. A teacher who would strike a student otherwise was considered to have incurred the guilt of a thief. Thus it is clear that the rules laid down by Kautilya and Manu come very near to the principles advocated by the modern educationalists. 2

^{1.} Manu, II, 299-300.

^{2.} Majumdar, op.et.loc.cit.

(C) THE JAINA SYSTEM

The history of education in the Maitraka kingdom would indeed be incomplete, if a description of the Jaina system of instruction were omitted. Valabhī is the traditional home of Jainism. If was here that the Svetmbara canon was collected and published. Right from the beginning of the Maitraka rule, their capital city had become the scene of a great scriptural activity. Naturally it came to be a rendezvous of the Jaina savants. One of these was Dhanesvarasuri the author of the famous Satrunjaya-Mahatmya, who describes himself in this work as a tutor of king siladitya. Here too, we are told that Dhanesvarasuri routed the colours of the Buddhists who were puffed up with pride on account of their knowledge, and the ground he took for defeating them was 'Svad-vada' i.e. 'may be' or the science of logic. 3

Other Jaina Savants who flourished at Valabhi were Malla and his brothers. 4 These were Jitayasas 5 who wrote a Nyasa or commentay on a grammatical work, known as Visranta-Vidyadharavara: 6

^{1.} The practice of transmitting learning from generation to generation orally was given up here, when it was realised that it was absolutely necessary toprepare Mss of the Jaina canonical literature (cf. Chapter on Religion in this thesis). This reduction into writing is technically known as 'pustakarohana of the Jaina Agamas; Kalpasutra, p. 170; Munshi, Gujarat and its Literature, p. 31.

^{2.} Shatrunjaya-Mahatmya, p. 769.

^{3.} Ibid: Prabhavakacharita (introduction)

^{4.} Prabhavakacharita. p. 16.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar the Siddha-Hema. Vamanais said to be the author of Visrantavidya-dharavara; cf. Purattatva, IV, p. 91.

and Yaksha, who composed a Samhita known as Nimittashtangabodhini.

Malla himself wrote his famous treatise on the Jaina philosophy called the Nayachackra. It is said that this Malla had a maternal uncle named Jinanandasuri who was a Svetambara Jaina monk. He was defeated in a public controversy at Bharukachchha by the Buddhist Buddhananda, and in consequence had to leave the city. He Settled at Valabhi where he taught his nephews. After finishing his studies Malla went to Bharukachchha and defeated his uncle's opponent Buddhananda in a public debate, held before the royal assembly, and won the title of Vadin as a result of his triumph. 2

These references to Jaina scholars would point to the existence of Jaina-educational institutions in the kingdom, though actual epigraphical or literary evidence is so far not forthcoming. Education among the Jainas was dispensed by two different agencies,

^{1.} A book named Nayachakraby Devasenasuri consisting of 87 gathas has come down to us. It describes Mallavadin, as a great logician. We find it mentioned there that the author has taken his maerial from the Ekanta Jaya Pataka by Haribhadra. However, we do not know whether this Nayachakra is the same as that of Mallavadin.

^{2.} Two other stories are told of this Mallavadin in the Prabandha chintamani and in the Prabandhakosa. They also give an account of this controversy between the Buddhist and the Jaina scholars and the ultimate triumph of the Jaina. Cf. Chapter on Religion. One more reference to the importance given to the Svetambara scholars of Valabhi is gathered from the Bhadrabahucharita of Ratnanandi (Ch. IV, verse 133) where we are told that king Bhupala of Karahata invited the Svetambara monks of Valabhi, probably for performing some religious practice. This was done by him at the ka request of his queen Nrkuladevi cf. Ludar, "Kadamba Plates of Prabhutavarsha," E.I., IV, pp. 338 ff.

the art-schools and the monasteries. The former were the regularly organised institutions where education was imparted to all irrespective of caste, creed or sex unlike the Brahmanical schools. The instruction given in the art-schools was religious as well as secular and was calculated to fit the needs of the students in different walks of life, and to turn them into better citizens.2 The schools were probably run with the help of state subsidies, which were thus one of their chief financial resources. The students assisted their teachers with their household work4 while they remained under them and paid an honorarium to them on completion of their studies. 5 According to the Rayapaseniyasutta these teachers fell into three catagories: the kalayaria or teachers of arts such as writing, sippayariya or teachers of handicrafts such as pottery, and so forth, and the Dhammayaria or teachers of divinity.

The art-schools were generally patronized at the primary and secondary stages, before the children entered the Brahmanical or the monastic schools. Starting at the age of seven they continued here for about a further seven years. The subjects taught during this period were of fundamental importance; and fell

^{1.} Das Gupta, Jaina System of Education, pp. 2, 12, 13, 16, 53.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 4.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 15. It must however be observed that no grants in money or kind, to the Jaina institutions made by the Maitrakas have come down to us.

^{4.} Cf. Kapadia, op.cit., pp. 210-11.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Rayapaseniyasutta, s. 77, para 33 of Paesitahaniya in Vaidya, pp. 101-20.

^{7. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 69-70.

into four groups, viz. the 3R's, Fine-Arts, military training and academic and scientific studies. The study of the 3R's was meant to equip the child with the rudiments of knowledge; the Fine-Arts compressed singing, painting, music, dancing, drawing and cognate subjects. Military training was given together with the allied courses of hunting, riding and archery; while the academic and scientific branches of study were so planned as to afford the students both intellectual pleasure and economic gain, including as they did the study of vernacular languages, composition, balled-making, public-speaking, and a knowledge of the Vedas, the Vedangas, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and mineralogy. Thus the courses in these schools were well adapted to the physical, mental, and emotional needs of the scholars from their boyhood to early adolenscence.

psychology. Education was never forced upon an unwilling mind.⁵
The classes were held from sunrise to sunset with a recess for the lunch only. Instructions were imparted to the students either in groups or individually, according to the nature of the subject.⁶
For example military training and other cognate arts were taught in groups as at present done for economising time both of the teacher and the taught. No new subject was begun unless the one

^{1.} Ibid., pp. 67-68.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 68.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 82.

^{6.} Ibid.

in hand had been thoroughly mastered.

Thus the students passed about seven years of their life in the art-schools where they lived a decent, happy and vigorous life. 1

after finishing their studies in the art-schools the students joined the monasteries. These monasteries were the prototype of the Buddhist vihāras. They were situated in the suburbs of cities, away from the din ad bustle of the work-a-day world and probably formed independent units by themselves. The principle observed in founding these institutions was to select a site easy of access to the faithful and suitable to learned leisure.

Each monastery was managed by a hierarchy of officers, 4 chosen from among the monks according to the qualifications required for their offices. 5 These officers apparently constituted the executive council which looked after the general administration of the institution. At the head of this body was the Siddha who controlled the policy of the institution with the assistence of the Arhat. Next in rank came the Acharyas, learned monks who together with the Upadhyayas were entrusted with the actual teaching work. Lastly, came the Sadhus. And all five constituted what was known as the Pancha-Paramesthi of a Jaina Monastery. 6 Other

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Ibid., p.2

^{3.} Cf. Tagore, Visva Bharti Quarterly, April, 1924, p. 64; Das Gupta, op.cit., pp. 3, 22.

^{4.} Ibid., pp. 25 ff.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Ibid.

officers were the Pravajyādāyakas and the Niryāpakas who discharged respectively the functions of initiating novices into the ascetic fold and rehabilitating erring members of the order. The Sramanas were the common monks who also must have taught in the monastery. 1

The Acharyas were the most important among these teachers. Their qualifications may be deduced from the rule followed in Jaina monasteries that the Sutras should be taught by an Upadhyaya (subpreceptor), whereas their meaing should be propounded by an Acharya (preceptor)². Hence, we may agree with Mr. Kapadia, when he observes that it was considered necessary that an Acharya should know various languages in order that his pupils might be taught through the medium of their own mother tongue.³ Accordingly the preceptor was expected to broaden his outlook by travel, thus coming into contact with diverse peoples and customs.⁴ Speaking of these itinerant teachers Hiuen Tsiang observes, that they "count not, 1000 li a long journey," and that "forgetting fatigue they expatiate in the arts and sciences. "⁵ He alone was the perfect teacher who could answer all the questions and difficulties of his

^{1.} Ibid., pp. 25-26. The Jaina sources mention two types of preceptors viz. the diksa-guru and the vidya-guru. This was probably because the one and the same preceptor could not be expected to be conversant with all sciences. Nay, instances are not lacking of persons who had more than one vidya-guru, cf. Kapadia, op.cit., p. 203. But as a general rule a vidya-guru was also a diksa-guru.

^{2.} Kapadia, "The Jaina System of Education,", J.U.B., VIII. p. 205.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Watters, op.cit., I, p. 161; Das Gupta, op.cit., pp. 2, 25, 38.

^{5.} Watters, op.et loc.cit.

students. Others were unfit to teach. Nor was a student to accept blindly whatever he was taught, but had to weigh the worth of every word. 1

as to make the student frugal and independent. As regards the monks a five-fold aim was always kept in view. Their training was calculated to impart to them the right knowledge, add stability to their faith, strengthen their character, erdicate false prepossessions and prejudices and assist them in dischar discerning objects and their proper-perspective. All this was designed to turn the students mind increasingly towards religion.

The curricula were wide in scope. For they included instructions in religion, literature, arts, physical culture and other like subjects, and thus met the needs of all types of students in the different grades of life. The religious

^{1.} Nittiuti on Avassayasutta, V.133; cf. Kapadia, op.cit., p. 206. 2. Ibid., pp. 210, 220.

^{3.} The Jaina look upon lor Rsabha, the first Tirthankara (of the present Hunda avasarpini period. In cons kalpas or cycle, there are two eras mentioned viz. the avasapini and utsarpini. The avasarpini or the descending era is one in which 'piety and truth go on decreasing until in the end chas and confusion reign over the earth; and the utsarpini or ascending era is one in which there is ever-growing evolution of piety and truth'. cf. Jaini, <u>Outline of Maniam Jainism</u>, p. xxvi' as the originator of teaching (cf. Kapadia, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 199). We learn from Bhadrabahusvamiha's <u>Pajjosanakappa</u> (also known as Kalpasutra) that Lord Rsabha taught 72 arts of males which included the art of writing and arithmetic also, £f. Kapadia, <u>op.cit.</u>p. 201

^{4.} Das Gupta, op.cit., pp. 2, 6; Rayasekharasuri, Prabandhakosa, I, p. 28.

instructions included the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina courses of studies. 1 Out of these subjects the Brahmanical works together with the Arts-course were taken up in the first group; the second group included the whole range of Buddhist studies; while in the third and final group knowledge of the important works of the Jainas like Angas was imparted to the students. these subjects possibly made up the course for graduation, while the post-graduate course included a study of subjects like the Vedas, Vedangas, history, philosophy, higher mathematics, grammar, prosody, astronomy, literature, lexicography, poetics, politics, 2 together with sacred texts of the Brahmanas. 3 Special attention was paid to astrology and there were several scholars who attained great proficiency in this science. This is inferred from the fact that the Chinese traveller who visited India in the seventh century was so greatly impressed by the knowledge of astrology possessed by the Jainas, that he actually had his horoscope cast for him by a Nirgrantha named Vajra. 4 It is interesting to note that the science was cultivated not as a means of livelihood but for its own sake, and because it was believed that it could be of use in case th Jaina-church was threatened by some persecution. 5 scholars also wrote theses on subjects like medicine and the grammar of Panini. 6 Obviously this research work was also included in the programme of post-graduate studies.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 27 2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 112. 3. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 71.

Shamamas, op.cit., pp.161-2; Watters, op.cit., II, pp.44-45.

^{5.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 254. 6. Sharma, Jainism in Karnataka Country, p. 72.

The method of study pursued in the Jaina monasteries was both comprehensive and rational. In learning a given passage from the texts the student had to observe five different steps. 1 first of these was rehearsal; next came repetion and then followed interrogation, concentration and discussion in successive order. After this his knowledge was pronounced perfect. 2 too in his work of explanation had to observe similar and corresponding steps, like Bhasa or ordinary explanation, Vibhasa or giving of synonyms and Vattiya or giving an explanation of the explanation. 3 These steps, we find compared to the several stages in the blosoming of the lotus flower, the bud, the halfopened flower and the full blown lotus in the Jaina work Visewa.4 The Jaina monks like the Buddhist and the Hindu teachers stressed the value of repetition in the task of imparting instruction to students, 5 and they were very particular and careful that the lessons they taught were thoroughly mastered by the pupils. Besides, a three hours' compulsory study of the Jaina scriptures was strictly enjoyened upon these monks every ax day, 6 and a violation of this obligation was looked upon with grave concern. 7

Jain students wishing to be trained according to the Jaina ritual resided in the monasteries in the company of their teachers.8

^{1.} Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 31.

^{2.} Ibid.: Yogindra Acharya, Paramatma Prakasa, pp. 59, 341.

^{3.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 222.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Yogindra Acharya, Paramatma Prakasa, p. 59; Das Gupta, op.cit.,p.3

^{6.} Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 3; The Unasagadasa, p. 51.

^{7.} Das Gupta, op.cit., pp. 3,118.

^{8.} Ibid., p. 211.

Life in these monasteries was simple. The earliest age at which students could join a monastery was probably seven or eight years after taking the dikaa. Some students, however, joined even at a later stage after finishing their studies in the artschools. On joining a monastery a student was expected to pay respect to his preceptor. He was to ask him his difficulties in a humble way, and quietly hear his answers and grasp their meaning. His duty was thene was to reflect on what he had been told and to make himself sure that what his guru taught him was correct. Finally, after he had convinced himself of it, he had to try to retain it. A Jaina student was supposed to practise the anusthana rite as enjoined in the scriptures throughout the period of his student life. 2

As in the art-schools, no fees were charged for the instruction imparted in the monasteries. In cases of necessity even lay scholars were provided with free boarding. Relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial, and the students showed special regard for their preceptors, senior monks and even for the guests of their monasteries. This was manifested in various ways, like standing up on their arrival, following them

^{1.} Kapadia, op.cit., VIII, p. 198.

^{2.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 211.

^{3. (&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 210-11.

L. Das Gupta, The Jaina System of Education, pp. 32, 118.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid., pp.</u> 32, 118.

^{5.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 209.

^{6. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 208.

whenever they went out without expressing signs of fatigue and so forth. All these actions they appropriately accompanied by salutations and adorations. 2

Though in the study of scriptures the Jaina monks and nuns had for the most part common ground to cover, there was no room for coeducation in the Jaina system. The Sādhavis (nuns) were taught by senior Sādhavis. But as the Samayari says, a num could appoach a monk for the solution of her doubts, provided, of course, she was accompanied by another nun. On such occasions the monk himself was attended by another Sādhu. It is interesting to note that like the Buddhists, Jainas also had organised hermitages intended exclusively for women. Here the Jaina nuns led a community life similar to that of the monks and their students in the viharas. Further, in the Jaina system of education, women were debarred from studying some of the religious works e.g. Ditthivāya, the 12th anga and the sātisaya ajjayanas such as Utthānasuya, Samutthānasuya, Mahaparinna, Arunovavāya, and the like. This is confirmed by a verse quoted in the Ācaradinakara

^{1.} Cf. <u>Kundakudaca Pravacanasarva</u>, p. 32 v. 47 as quoted by Das Gupta, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 32.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 8; Kapadia, op.cit., p. 217.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Several examples of the Buddhist viharas for women are given in the Valabhi records.

^{6.} Mayer, Hindu Tales, p. 44.

^{7.} Vide, Kapadia, op.cit., p. 238.

by Vardhamana Suri¹ while in his <u>Tattavanirnayaprasada</u>, ²

Viyayananda Suri tells us that the scriptural works <u>Kaliya</u> and <u>Ukkaliya</u> from which Dittivaya was carefully excluded were composed in <u>Practical Practical Surial Sur</u>

It is an established fact that in ancient India education was imparted only in Sanskrt and Prakrt. The Jainas were the first to make use of vernacular languages as media for instruction. Their pedagogues believed that one's mother tongue was the best instrument for imparting knowledge and that education through one's own language was bound to be thorough and productive of better

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 102-3.

^{2.} Vijjayananda Suri, Tattavanirnayaprasada, pp. 412-3.

^{3.} A similar idea is expressed in Purnakalasa Guni's commentary on Hemachandra Suri's <u>Kumarapalacharita</u> also known as Prakrta Dvyasraya.

^{4.} Manu, op.et loc.cit.

^{5.} Rhys Davids, Psalms of Early Sisters, p. 57.

^{6.} Das, op.cit., p. 44.

results than through a banguage that is foreign to the student. This view had been propounded by Maladharin Hemachandra Suri in his commentary on the Visesa. 1 We also have the earlier evidence of Silanka Suri who had preceded him by about three hundred years. 2 Both express the same views as to the ideal medium for instruction. This successful attempt of the Jaina teachers to break new ground in their methods of teaching gave the much needed impetus to the vernacular languages which had continued so far in an embryonic stage of developement, and now came to have literatures of their own. In southern India in particular, from the early centuries of the christian era the Jaina ascetics who established the Dighambara sect of Jainism in Tamil land, Andhra and the Karnataka enriched the three vernacular languages. of these countries. 3 Unlike the Buddhists, they did not use the modulated Prakrt forms but used Sanskrt words as in their original in vernacular writing and thus embellished the Telagu, Tamil and Kanarese literatures.4 Moreover to the Jainas belongs the credit of having first started the elementary vernacular schools in these lands. though the Jainas have long ceased to exist in great numbers in the Andhra, Tamil and Karnataka provinces, the salutation with which the children commenced their studies in the Jaina schools, the vernamala, is still current in the form 'in which it had been

^{1.} Hemachandra Suri's Commentary on Visesa, v.7,p.10.

^{2.} Silanka Suri's Commentary on Visesa, v. 7. p. 8.

^{3.} Das, op.cit., p. 144.

^{4.} Ibid.

first introduced by them. 1

The duration of studies, as it appears from Maladharin Hemacandra Suri's commentary on Visesa, 2 filled up the major part of the student's active life. During the first half which took up twelve precious years of his life he was disciplined in what was termed grahana-siksa, or memorsing the sutras without attempting to understand their meaning. This was followed by a further period of twelve years during which the meaning of what he had learnt by rote was explained to him, a period which was technically described as that of asevana-siksa. An instance of the existence of a similar method in China may be gathered from a description of the Chinese primary schools in the early period when students were compelled to memorize texts beyond their power of comprehension that were explained tothem only after the process of learning by heart had been completed and their minds had been stored up with an array of literary master pieces. 3 It is no wonder that under this obviously faulty system of education it required seventeen years of unremitting study to become a Savant or Sruta-kevalin. What was worse still this study commenced only after the expiry of three years from the acceptance of the diksa, i.e. at the age of ten years at the earliest; so that a Jaina scholar might be said to have completed his education onlywhen he reached middle age.

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Maladharin Hemachandra Suri's Commentary, of Visesa, p. 9 (v.7)

^{3.} Latourette, The Chinese their History and Culture, p. 318.

As for the laity, there was a prescribed limit to their acquisition of scriptual knowledge. The <u>Cunni on Avassava sutta</u> distinctly says that the range of knowledge of a Sravaka extended from eight <u>pravacanamatrs</u> to the study of <u>Chaijivaniya</u> the fourth <u>ajjhayana</u> of <u>Dasaveyaliyasutta</u>. 1

On the completion of studées, academic honours in different grades such as the diplomas of Pandita and Bahusruta and the Doctorate were conferred on the successful candidates according to merit. No mention of the master Degree given to Buddhist students is made in Jaina literature. References to the Doctorate are however, frequent, and it appears that for obtaining this degree the student had to have research-work to his credit.

The examination invariably took the form of a debate in which the knowledge of the student was tested. Those students who came out successful from these contests were awarded titles, conveying an idea of the extent of their learning. A student who had mastered the entire was scriptural lore including the fourteen Purvas was called Srutakevalin. If he had mastered only the fourteen Purvas he was given the title of Chaturdasapurvin and so on in a descending series down to the man who had learnt a single Purva only and received the title of Ekapurvadhara. In a like manner the mastery of the different Angas was designated by means of titles, ekadasangrid being the title of a student who knew eleven

^{1.} Vide, Kapadia, op.cit., p. 241.

^{2.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 248.

angas and so on. Besides these there were other titles such as Srutasthavira, 1 Srutakalpita, 2 Arthakalpita, 3 Kalikalasa, Avadhijnanius, 4 Manadparyayajnanius, Vadin, which had probably been in vogue almost from the beginning of Jainism. 5

The Jaina schools were closed only in abnormal times so that in comparison with the inmates of the Hindu and the Buddhist institutions Jaina scholars enjoyed fewer holidays. These were occasioned either by unusually oppressive weather or by some out of the way occurrence such as popution of the atmosphere by the many slaughter of animals, by a hostile incursion or by a evil war.

These holidays were called Asvadhyāya.

Finally, Jaina literature bears ample testimony to the fact that scholarship in ancient India received due encouragement from the state. Thus, we read in the Cunni on Avassaya Sutta? that one Aryaraksita who had gone to Pataliputra to prosecute his

^{1.} A person who studies Thana and Samavaya was designated as Srutasthvira.

^{2.} Onewho studies from Avasayya upto Ayara was called Sutakalpita.

^{3.} Arthakalpita was the title given to one who studies from Avasayya upto Suyagada.

^{4.} Rajasekhara, Prabandhakasa, p. 50.

^{5.} Cf. Pajjosanakappa, s. 138-142.

^{6.} Kapadia, op.cit., p. 248.

^{8.} Kapadia, op.et loc.cit.

studies there, was welcomed by his king with great honours on his return to his native city after the completion of his studies. 1

^{1.} Even after finishing of the studies the Jaina scholar had to be ready axa at a moment's notice for the Sastrartha or literary affray (Altekar, op.cit., p. 158), a circumstance which would suggest that he had to keep himself always abreast of the knowledge of his subjects. These Sastrarthas were very often presided over by the king himself who acted as a judge and apportioned victory and defeat. At one such controversy between Mallavadin and Buddhananda king Siladitya of Valabhi is said to have presided. Similarly Belasri of Antaranjika gave the award in the discussion between Gupta Suri and his pupil Rohagupta also known as Saduluka. It was also at one such contest the Malta, as we have already noted, won the title of Vadin. Other titles bestowed on these occasions included the appelations of Kevalin i.e. one who was conversant with the past, present and future, Sarvajna, trikaladarsin, avojna, etc. They invariably conveyed the idea of omniscience. (Cf. Kapadia, op.cit., p. 246.)

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (A)

Agriculture appears to have been the chief occupation of the people under the Maitraka kings. Nevertheless, there were in the country besides the agriculturists who formed the bulk of the population, rich classes of traders and industrialists.

Surastra was ranked among the most important provinces. Its importance lay mainly in the circumstance that it possessed splendid harbours to which flocked people from all quarters of the glob with their merchandise.

As to the importance of Valabhī as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce, we have sufficient evidence. Hiven Tsiang, while describing the kingdom says: "The population is very dense, the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities, "I and proceeding further, "The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winterwheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (or, made of) parched corn flour. "It it was evidence also bears testimony to this. For example, in the Dasakumāracharita of Dandin3 we find this reference; "there is

^{1.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 266.

^{2.} Ibid. pp. 260.

^{3.} The book was written before 700 A.D. - almost a contemporary work of the Maitraka dynasty.

a city named Valabhi in Surastra. In it there is an owner of ships (Navikapati) namedGrhgupta who can vie with Kubera in ribbes. He had a daughter named Ratnamati. A merchant-prince named Balabhadra from Madhumati (Mahuva) comes to Valabhi and marries her.... etc. "I is clear from this that even private individuals possessed ships of their own. The story moreover associates Ketaka with Valabhi. A similar reference to a rich merchant of Valabhi is found in the Kathasarita-sagara. the author Somadeva speaks of one Vidhyadhara, 2 who was born in the family of a merchant of Valabhi named Vasudatta. Vidhyadhara was ordered by his father to go to another country where he had some business interests. In the same work, again, a merchant named Devasena of Pataliputra is shown as going to Valabhi on business and leaving his wife Kirtisena to the tender mercies of his mother. 3 We also know that a poor Marwadi from Pali called Kakuranka came to Valabhi to try his fortune there. Within a short period he prospered and, it is narrated by the bards, once dissatisfied with the king, he invited the Mlechchhas to destroy the city and assisted them with money.4

Finally, it seems to be frequent in the ancient folk-lore

^{1.} Dandin, Dasakumaracharita, p. 225.

^{2.} Somadeva, Kathasarita-sagar, p. 85.
अधिरेणीय जातो १६ भूताने अण्डिता कुले।
जाशा अल्लाक्या प्रस्तिवाणिक स्ताः।। Тक्रांयुव 22.

^{3.} Ibid., taranga29, p.130.

^{4.} Merutunga, <u>Prabandha Chintamani</u>, pp. 127 ff; Jin Vijayaji,

<u>Puratana Prabadha</u>, pp. 37 ff; Sachhan, <u>Alberuni's India</u>, I,
pp. 192 ff.

of the country to associate the Suvarna-purusa and Kalpa-vraksa

(a tree whose mysterious powers enabled one to attain one's desired object) with Valabhi. Such legends tend to show that people could with little effort prosper in the city, and suggest the general natural wealth of the country.

Among the industries that flourished in the Maitraka dominions during the early days of the Valabhī kingdom, polishing of carnelians may easily be said to have ranked in the first place. Other industries that may be mentioned are spinning and weaving, masonry and carpentary, iron smelting, jewellery, brassware and potteries. The gold and silver vessels of the period were outstanding for their exquisite workmanship, while the arts of printing and painting, colouring and dyeing especially tye-dyeing or "bandhani" very popular in this part of the country, were also patronized. Other articles produced there included incense, mirrors and toilet requisites such as cosmetics, scents and collyrium.

According to the Valabhi copper-plate inscriptions the people had a taste for ornamentation - a taste which is usually born of prosperity. Evidence of this is seen in the descriptions of the city itself, laid out, it is said, to resemble the human ear.

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Bom. Gaz., I, pt. I, p. 78, note 1.

^{3.} Watters, op.cit., I, p. 178; Beal, op.cit., I, p. 89.

^{4.} Bana, op.cit., p. 124 (text 142); Beal, op.cit., I, p. 77.

^{5.} Motichand, op.et loc.cit.

^{6.} Ibid.

^{7.} This is known from Prof. Nadvi's unpublished notes (Ahmedabad).

This was a fortified place surrounded by a wall, as may easily be seen from the ruins. A moat ran round this wall which was pierced by a number of gates and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat. A reference to the city's gates is also found in some Valabhi grants. There was ample open space outside the rampoarts, where the army could be encamped and fairs held. Some places were even reserved for gardens and orchards which answered to the need both of recreation and religion.

References to the maritime activities of the people of Valabhi are given in the Buddhist work Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa. It says that the people of Valabhi reached Sūra by crossing the sea which probably refers to their trade ventures to, and regular commerce with, Assyria. This information of the Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa is further corroborated by Dandin who, in his Dasakumaracharita says that there lived in the city of Valabhi a ship's captain (Nāvikapati), who seems to have been as rich as the god of wealth himself. 6

Thus we see that peace and prosperity of the country assisted

^{1.} Thakur, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Buhler, "Valabhi Grants," I.A., IX, pp. 237 ff.

^{3.} Diskalkar, "The Second Half of a Valabhi Grant of Sam. 210,"

E.I., XIX, pp. 125 ff; Banerji, "The Jesar Plates of Siladitya
III," E.I., pp. 114 ff.

^{4.} Jayaswal, op.cit., p.23.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Danqin, <u>Dasakumaracharita</u>, p. 173, (text 113); <u>Mahajanaka Jataka</u>, VI, p. 39; Fausboll, <u>The Jataka</u> III, p. 187.

in promoting inter-provincial as well as foreign trade, beginning in an era of great prosperity. An instance in point of the foreign trade of Valabhī is furnished by the fact recorded by McCrindle, that China silk form part of the export trade of Banygazes (Broach) with Rome. It is probable that other commodities like rice, wheat, sugarcane, jute and precious stones may have also formed part of the same trade. Inland trade was mostly carried on by cart or beasts of burden.

The regulation of trade and industries, was probably managed by guilds. No information is yielded by the inscriptions about the origin of this guild-system. Hence, we are not in a position to say whether it was an indigenous organisation or imported from elsewhere. The Valabhi copper-plate grants tell us that it prevailed there from the very beginning. We are also told that the army of Bhatarka, the founder of the dynasty consisted of various elements including guilds (sreni). This along with the mention of corporate activity among traders and craftsmen in the ancient literature of Northern India and their organisation into guilds with the sresththi at the head, seems to suggest that the system in its organized form was probably introduced into the Valabhi kingdom

^{1.} McCrindle, The Commerce and Navigation of the Erithryacan Sea, pp. 96-107.

^{2.} Das, The Economic History of Ancient India.

^{3.} Mazumdar and Altekar, op.cit.,p 357.

^{4.} Sten Konow, "The Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I", E.I., XI p. 112.

^{5. (}Jaruda pana Jataka) Cowell, Jatakas, p. 182.

from the early days of the Maitraka rule, and gradually developed to perfection. The guilds thus served the purpose of protecting the interests of the indigenous trades and crafsmen against foreign competitors. And we know from the evidence cited above that there were many foreign traders at Valabhi.

The state interferred whenever a guild became involved in a dispute. Thus, "If a man" says Manu, "belonging to a corporation, inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, the king shall banish him from his realm."

Yajnavalkya goes a step further and says that "if a man steals the property of a guild or any other corporation or breaks agreement... he shall be banished from the realm and his property confiscated."

The epigraphical records do not explain the constitution and working of these guilds. However, it is possible that the most important of their functions was the regulation of the economic life of the town. In directing the trade and industries, it is natural that the special interests of the members were always kept in view. It is evident from the state of affairs in the neighbouring countries that the guilds also served as local banks and treasury offices. We are told in the Lakshmesvar inscription of Vikramaditya of the Western Chalukya family of Badami that the guild of braziers was authorized to collect taxes from all classes of people at the

^{1.} Manu, VIII, 219, (p. 293).

^{2.} Yajnavalkya, II, 187-97; Brhaspati, XVII, 13, p. 348.

time fixed by the king for payment. We also learn from the same records that the guilds were the centre of all activity in the city. They celebrated the feasts and other religious ceremonies and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens.

In the Deccan, specially in Karnataka³, guilds may be classed under two broad divisions, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. The merchants organised themselves after the commodities they sold. Thus for instance, there was a guild of the fruit merchants,⁴ another of cloth merchants,⁵ and so on. Similarly also, the craftsmen may have organized their guilds according to their craft.

The guilds having spread themselves all over the country rendered valuable service to the people by ministering to all their wants, economic, social and religious.

In this period, too, as in all other periods of ancient
Indian history prices of market commodities were controlled by the
state and consequently the effects of their sise and fall were
carefully observed. As Yajnavalkya says, "Sale and purchase shall
be conducted daily according to the value fixed by the king;" and
the surplus onthe fixed value is to be recognised as the first

^{1.} Barnett, *Lakshmeshwar Pillar Inscription of the Yuvaraja Vikramaditya, * E.I., XIV, p. 190.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 285.

^{4.} Barnett, "Two Inscriptions fram Belgaum, " E.I., XIII, p. 15.

^{5.} Ibid.

value of the trade. 1 This state control of prices naturally effected the general standard of living in the country, which appears to have been very inexpensive. This is corroborated by the Sanchi stone inscription according to which "twelve dinaras (one dinara was worth approximately 3/4 of a tola of gold) are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great Vinara of Kakanadabota. With the interest that accrues from these dinaras, day by day one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed. " If we suppose that the people followed the recommendations made in the Smrtis and endowmats fetched interest at rates varying from twelve to twenty-four per cent a year, 3 it would follow that the yearly expenses of feeding a person amounted to one dinara. The cost of living being thus very low, it is easy to believe, tht cowries were used as media of exchange in the day to day transactions, while the system of barter was very popular, specially in the countryside.

The prosperity of Valabhi was in short manifested in its lofty structures, beautiful vihāras, gardens (upavana),

^{1.} Yajnavalkya, II, 254 (p. 106)

^{2.} Fleet, op.cit., III, p. 262.

^{3.} According to Manu (VIII, 140-141) and Yajnavalkya the normal rate of interest should be 15 per cent per annum, or one-eightieth part of the actual capital per mensem, cf. Yajnavalkya, II, 37; Kautilya recommends the same rate of interest, cf. Arthasastra, p. 178.

^{4.} Beal, op.cit., II, p. 207. Fa Hien, op.cit., p. 43.

libraries, bazzars, tanks of clear water, 1 collections of the rarities from far and wide, 2 and its organised system of trade and commerce. It is equally manifest in the description of the people who were "of gentle disposition and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education."

^{1.} Bhandarkar, op.cit., I, p. 45.

^{2.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 242.

^{3.} Ibid. This description is given for the people of Malava, but people of Valabhi are said to be resembling them.

COINAGE.

The foundation of the Gujarat-Kathiawad coinage was probably laid by the Greeks¹ on which foundation as Dr. Sankalia maintains, 'the super structure was built by the succeeding rulers.'² When we examine the early coins of this part of the country we find that the indigenous coins of the Pre-Greek period are very small silver coins weighing about five to seven grains and having as symbols a Swastika, a Trisula and a Chakra. Another smaller variety of about four grains has also been found. These coins have a mis-shapen elephant on the obverse and something resembling a circle on the reverse.³ The Bactrian Greeks issued many varieties of silver and copper coins in Gujarat, both round and square. The legend on these was in the Bactro-Pali character.⁴

The Ksatrapas were the successors of the Greeks in Gujarat. They discarded many of the Greek features and issued new varieties of copper-coins. The legend was in Kharosti and Brahmi and in some cases in both. The symbol on most of these coins was a crescent surmounting chaitya having a wavy wavy line beneath. This symbol reveals the early Andhra contact. On the

^{1.} Bom. Gaz., I, pt. I, p. 16.

^{2.} Sankalia, Arch. Gujarat, p. 184.

^{3.} Bom. Gaz., I, pt. I., p. 17. These small local coins were found in Hatar Gondal.

^{4.} Ibid.

^{5.} Sankalia, op.cit., p. 187.

obwerse was the head of the king facing towards the right, with locks of hair. Above the figure there was the Greek version of the legend, which was RREE preceded by the date in Brahmi numerals. The form of the legend on the Kshatrapa coins was 'Rajno Kshtrapasa Viradamapuhasa Rajna Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasena.' These coins were about five to six times heavier than the Greek coins.

The only coin of Lucius Verus found in this part of the country may be a very slender argument in favour of Roman influence during the first century of the Christian era. Otherwise the connection between the Mediteranean ports and Broach is known to have been established about this time. The Romans, it is believed, used topay for their goods in silver denarii and gold aureii and not in kind. The reason why very few of their coins have come down to us seems to be, as Warmington has suggested, that they were melted down by the Sakas, and hence became rare in Gujarat and practically left no influence on the coinage of the country.

When the Guptas conquered Gujarat the Gujarat currency was influenced by the Gangetic (or Magadhyadesi). The symbols on such Gupta coins are a Garuda, or a cluster of dots, a wavy line

^{1.} Bom. Gaz., op. et loc. cit.

^{2.} Ibid., Sankalia, op.et loc.cit.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Rapson, Indian Coins, p. cxxxviii, cxliv.

^{5.} Warmington, Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India, p. 290.

^{6.} Sankalia, op.cit., p. 188.

beneath a border of dots, and at times even a bull couchant to the right and alter with fire on it. or a peacock. Thus the new features introduced by the Guptas in the coinage of Gujarat consisted of all these symbols and a purely Sanskrit legend in the nominative. The practice of putting the date was retained, but the Gupta era was introduced. The legend on the Gupta coins was "Parama Bhagavata Maharajadhiraja Sri Kumaragupta Mahandradityah." As regards the fabric and the weight of their coins the Gupta kings followed their predecessors. Most of their coins were of silver or silver-coated copper fabric. They did not give a gold currency to Gujarat, as they gave to other parts of their empire. Moreover, the fulness, variety and the artistic skill found on their coins elsewhere is not traced here. The two religious symbols the Garuda and the Bull, were new to this gountry.

As regards the currency of the Traikutakas we know that they issued round, silver coins having a head on the obverse and the so-called chaitya on the reverse. The legend however, was similar partly to that on the Gupta coins, and partly to that on the Kshatrapa coins.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhi who were the political successors of the Guptas in Surastra and the neighbouring country

^{1.} Allan, Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. ci; Bom. Gaz., I, p. 71.

struck their own coins on the model of their predecessors. A series of silver and copper coins are attributed to them. 2 EXERGE these coins we generally come across two distinct types. The first, which was perhaps the earlier type is 6" in diameter and weighs about 27 grains, while the later type is 45 " in diameter and has a weight of about 29 grains. A comparative study seems to show that the former were modeled on the Kshatrapa coins to which they bear a close resemblance and that the latter are similar to the Gupta coins in shape, size as well as the type of their legend. The Valabhi coins like the later Gupta coins are found to be silver-coated and not a pure silver. on the obverse resembles that of the Kshatrapa kings and faces towards the right with vague traces of head dress, locks and mustaches. The Greek legend on the Khatrapa coins is altogether ommitted. Nor is the date traceable on the obverse. reverse carries a new device, a trident, an emblem of Saivism to which on some coins, probably those of the later type, an axe (parsu) is also added. The significance of this addition is not easy to explain. Mr. G. V. Acharya suggests this to be an emblem of Parasurama and consequently a symbol of Vaisnavism,

^{1.} Such coins of the Maitraka kings are said to have been very plentiful in Gujarat and Kathiawad, perhaps more plentiful than those of the western Kshatrapas and the Guptas put together. (Cf. Newton, <u>4.B.B.R.A.S.</u>, VII, p. 33.)

^{2.} The Valabhi coins were first brought to notice by Mr. James Prinsep in J.A.S.B., IV, (1835), p. 687. pl. XLIX, Nos. 6-9. Subsiquently Thomas (J.R.A.S., XII, p. 63) and Newton (J.B.B.R.A.S., VII,p.13) made further efforts to decipher them.

denoting the spread of that faith. However, we cannot be definite on this point.

The device in either case is surrounded by a legend inscribed in debased characters of the Brahmi alphabet. Several attempts have been made to decipher the corrupt legend on these coins, but no definite result is arrived at. Anyhow, the word 'Bhattaraka' in this legend is quite clearly read by all the scholars who have attempted to read these coins. That these coins were issued by the kings of Valabhi is also corroborated by evidence of their provenance, in asmuchas a large number of them have been found round about the site of Valabhi. Also the device of the trident is the emblem of Saivism, the royal religion of the Valabhi kingdom.

As regards the legend itself we know that it is not fully deciphered as yet. However, different readings have been suggested by various scholars without any definite conclusion. According to Dr. Cunningham the legends read thus: 2

- (i) "Maha-Rajno Mahakshatrapa Paramasamanta maha sri Bhattarasa,
- (ii) Rajno Maha Kshatrapa Paramaditya Rajno Samanta Maha Sri Bhattarkasa.
- (iii) Maha Rajno Maha Kshatrapa Samanta mahesa.

^{1.} Purattatva, II, p. 58; Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, I,p.127; Acharya, Numismatic Supplement, XLVII,p.99.
2. Cunningham, A.S.I.R., IX, pp. 28 ff.

Paramaditya Dharasenasa."

But, Mr. Acharya has read the legends on palaeographic grounds as: 1

- "(i) Rastra sara Kshatrapasa ku samara
 Sara srih Barattarakasa" and also as
- "(ii) Rajno Mahakshatrapa (Dhara) nu

Dhyaka (ku) samara saha Sri Sarvva Bhattarakasa.

In an article, appearing in a recent number of the Journal of the Numismatic Society, Principal Mirashi has tried to give a third reading of the legend as:

Rajno Mahakshatrapa - (pa) ramadityabhakta - Mahasamanta - Sri Sarvva Bhattarakasa, i.e. (This is a coin) of the king,
Mahakshatrapa and Mahasamanta, the illustrious lord Sarva
who is in a fervent devotee of the Sun.

He attributes these coins to a king named Sarva who according to him flourished not long after the western Kshatrapas and owed allegiance to the Guptas or to the Traikutakas. But since no ruler of this name is known to have ruled over this country his theory falls to the ground. On the other hand the very fact that a large number of such coins are found among the ruins of the old city of Vala bearing the Saivite emblem together with the name of

^{1.} Acharya, Numismatic Supplement, No. XLVII, Silver Jubilee No.

^{2.} Mirashi, "The Legend on Valabhi Coins," J.N.S. of India. VI, pp. 16-17.

^{3.} Ibid.

Bhattaraka makes us believe that they were issued by the Maitrakas themselves. Their debased nuture makes difficult a proper reading of the legend in which, as Cunningham remarks, "at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top like a common pin."

These coins are no aid in determining any history.

On a minute examination, however, conducted both by Mr.

H. G. Shastri and myself at the Prince of Wales Museum, where about

19 of such coins are available, the legend which is inscribed in

two varieties of Brahmi is found to read as follows:-

The first two letters in both the types are undoubtedly 'Rajno' and resemble those on the coins of the Western KsMatrapas. The fifth and the sixty letters can also be clearly read as 'Ksha-tra,

^{1.} Cunningham, A.S.I.R., IX. p. 29.

^{2.} Cf. Rason, Coins of the Andhras, p. 80.

This indicates that the next word should be Ksha-tra-pa preceded by ma-tra. The 4th letter in the first type is distinctly 'ha' rather than 'ra'. The word should be then completed as 'Maha - Kshatrapasa', to be combined with 'Rajno'. Thus the 7th and the 8th letters are 'pa - sa'. Such a form of 'sa' resembling 'pra' is not quite uncommon in legends on coins. The 7th letter in the second type appears to consist of three vertical parallel strokes with one horizontal stroke below. The corresponding character in the first type may perhaps be read as 'pa-ra', but it has to be taken as 'pa' only, inasmuch as it is the only letter to be inserted between 'tra' and 'sa'. The 8th letter in the second type is followed by three verticle strokes, which are again followed by 'ku'. In the first variety there are found three distinct letters between 'sa' and 'ku'. This shows that the three verticle strokes, in fact, stand for three different letters. 'Ku' in both types is followed by 'sa' to the letters from 9 to 13 appear to form the third word of the legend. Hence it can tentatively be read as 'Bha-ta-ra-ka-sa', as they mostly resemble the last five letters of the legend, which are distinctly read as such. The stroke below 'ka' cannot be explained.

The 14th letter is clearly read as 'ma' in the second type. The next letter may be 'ra' or 'ha'. The 16th and the 17th letters are 'sa-ra'. As the 18th letter represents 'sri' or 'srih', it follows that the fourth word of the legend ends with the 17th letter. Thus the next word consists of four letters, the first of which is 'ma' and the last two 'sa - ra'. Hence it

may be read as 'mahesar', the Prakrt form of 'Mahesvara'. As this word does not end in 'sa', it has to be kken taken as compounded with the next word. As regards the 18th letter, the visarga following it bears no doubt, that the letter should be read as 'Sri'. Grammatically, the visarga in the second variety should be omitted.

Now remains the last word ending in 'sa'. The last three letters preceding 'sa' are 'tara-ka' or 'tta-ra-ka'. This portion makes it quite clear that the letter preceding it must be 'Bha', the whole word standing for 'Bhattarakasa'. The two strokes following 'Sri' in the first variety appearently resemble 'ta-ra', but can be constructed as 'Bha' connectively. The corresponding letter in the second type which though it is -difficulty to be deciphered may be read as 'Sarvva'. If the following verticle stroke alone represents 'Bha' we can hardly make out anything out of this composite letter. It should be, however, noted that this letter has no paralled in the first variety, except the left-hand stroke of 'Bha'. Then the complete legend will be read as:

'Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Bhatarakasa Mahesara - Sri Bhattarakasa' or 'Rajno, Mahakshatrapasa Bhatarakasa Mahesara Sri Sarvva¹ Bhattarakasa.'

^{1.} The word Sarvva may be taken to mean as Saivite, and it stands as an adjective before Bhattarakasa.

This reading would appear to be preferable to the preceding ones. According to it the legend may be translated thus: "(This is the coin) of the illustrious the Saxaka Saivite, Bhattaraka, the king, the great Kshatrapa, the Lord, and the devotee of Mahesvara."

The legend on the Valabhi seal is "Sri Bhatakka" and the device is that of a Bull, the sacred vehicle of Siva. Similarly, the trident on the coins represents another emblem of Saivism.

The legend contains the name of Bhattaraka, the founder of the Valabhi kingdom. It is very curious that the Valabhi coins do not give the year of issue.

As regards the titles of Bhat Laraka, the grants represent him as a Parama-mahesvara and Senapati. On the seal, his name is preceded only by a 'Sri'. The legend on the coins as read above represents Bhattaraka as Raja, Mahakshatrapa, Bhattaraka and Mahesvara. The first two titles were obviously inserted by imitation from the coinage of the Kshatrapas. All the great Kshatrapas kings bore the titles of Raja and Mahakshatrapa. The religious title Mahesvara is found in the copper-plate grants. As for the title Bhattaraka we know that this was the proper name of the founder of the Maitraka line, as well as the royal title of its kings - and at times even of its religious heads. later Maitraka kings bore the title of Paramabhattaraka in their grants. In the case of the early kings of Valabhi, such as Dhruvasena I, this very title meant their suzerainty. It may also be possible that Bhattaraka was originally the specific title of the founder and later on it came into use as the name of the hero

ADMINISTRATION

An idea of the various aspects of the system of administration under the Maitraka kings in Surastra (i.e. about the sixty to the eight centuries A.D.) may be obtained from some of their copper-plate grants that have come to light together with the records of their predecessors and successors. However, rightly obsevered by Dr. Beni Prasad, all "the literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence on Ancient Indian History does not suffice to give an idea of the details of the system of administration at a given epoch."

According to the Hindus the ancient Indian state was made up of several elements with which we are familiar to-day. They are the king, the amatya or the officials, the <u>Janapada</u> or <u>rastrapada</u> or the territory, the durga or the fort, the kosa or the treasury, the judiciary, the danda (bala) or the army and the mitra or the allies. These elements were called by the technical name of the <u>Prakrtis</u> of the rajya. 4

The system of government was as a rule unitary, although under the Mauryas the structure of the state appears to have

^{1.} Beni Prasad, The Tahory of Government in Ancient India,

^{2.} Arthasastra, VI, 1, p. 257; Yajfavalkya, I, 353; Manu, IX, 249; Visnudharmasutra, III, 33; Gautama Sutra, quoted in Sarasvati Vilasa, p. 45; Santiparva, 64-69; Matsya Purana, 225, 11, 239; Agni Purana, 233, 12; Kane, op.cit., III, p.17.

^{3.} Yajnavalkya, I, 353; Manu IX, 294; Kane, op.cit., III, pp. 6, 104; Arthasastra, VI, 1.

^{4.} Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, p. 65; Kane, op.cit., III, p. 17.

acquired what might be called a federal character in modern parlance. The Mauryan polity, indeed, might be classified as a loose confederation of several states established by the express consent of the constituent units.2 But beneath this semblance of a federation the Mauryan system retained the main characteristics of an unitary regime controlled from the centre.

The administrative machinery itself was reared about the seven prakrtis of the rajya. The first and the most important of these, the Svamin or the king, is invariably shown in the records as the supreme lord enjoying unlimited powers in his dominions. But this may perhaps have been so only in theory.4 True, the sovereign enjoyed a great amount of power and was surrounded by the great pomp with which oriental sovereignty is proverbially associated. He occupied the first place in the kingdom by exercising the supreme authority not only in political but in religious matters as well. Yet, as Dr. Balkrishna has aptly remarked, "the Hindu political science does not recognise an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights." The tendency to despotic rule was checked by customs and conventions which made it necessary for the king to

^{1.} Dikshitar, The Mauryan Polity, p. 79.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 79. 3. Yajnavalkyas, I, 353, Manu, IX, 294; Arthasastra, VI, 1.

^{4.} A king who after assuring of protection does not stick to his words may be killed, cf. Manu, VII, 27-8.

5. Balkrishna, "Evolution of the State," I.H.Q., III, p. 325.

seek counsel from the ministers and the religious heads in the land. Further, he had to submit to the same moral code as any ordinary citizen, notwithstanding the attributes of his elavated office. Thus the trend of Hindu jurisprudence was towards the observance of duties rather than the exercise of rights. A king in ancient India seems to have been rate acutely conscious of his duties as laid down in the Rajadharma. He always aimed at earning the epithet of Rajarshi or a saintly king. Hence, as Dr. Shamsastri has trudy written, the religious, ethical and political restraints which morality placed on the rulers of Ancient India were more successful in practice as compared with the constitutional checks of modern parliamentarianism. — Neither in ancient nor in mediaeval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government.

Yajnavalkya tells us that a ruler must conform to certain ideals of kingship. The ideal king is one who possesses unbounded energy in the discharge of duty; he is generous in his bounty and free in the recognition of services, obligations, and injuries received (Krtajnata); he is austere in outlook, devoted to the elders and possesses the faculty correctly to divine the object of things. Above all he must be intelligent and cultivate a love for truth. To this ideal the Maitraka rulers appear to

Sathe, "A Hindu King", <u>Triveni</u>, IV, No. 5, p. 51;
 Shamsastri, "Forms of Government in Ancient India," <u>A.B.O.R.I+</u>, XII, pp. 20-23.

have conformed successfully. Their inscriptions describe them throughout as scrupulously following the rules laid down in the Smrtis. We are told for instance that king Dhruvasana II was "like Manu himself, resorted to by his subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues." A similar instance found in the same records is that of king Dronasimha who is also recorded as having "acted according to the duties prescribed for kings by Manu and other law-givers and was consequently a Dharmaraja who had made provision for education (vinaya) and systematic government (vyavastha padhati) of his people." The provided in the same records is that of kings by Manu and other law-givers and was consequently a Dharmaraja who had made provision for education (vinaya) and systematic government (vyavastha padhati) of his

From a very early age the king performed religiously all legislative, executive, military and judicial functions in the empire. He made all laws in the country, and supervised their execution. He was the commander-in-chief of all the armies and every military chief owed him obedience. Yajnavalkya says that he had to "divest (himself) of anger and avarice and to administer justice along with learned Brahmanas in conformity with the principles of legal science. Although the Smrtis transformed his office into a godhead, his powers were not

2. Ibid., p. 90.

^{1.} Acharya, op.cit., I, p. 200; Hultzsch, op.cit., I, p. 85.

^{3.} Fleet, op.cit., III, p. 168.

^{4.} Kane, op.cit., III, p. 104.
5. Mx Yajnavalkya, II, p. 631("Krodha-lobha-vivarjitah" etc.)

^{6.} Manu, VII, 12-13 (pp.216-7): Yajnavalkya, (I, 312-3) requires the king to consult his ministers, then a Brahmana and finally decide all the secular and religious matters himself; cf. Kane, op.cit., III, p. 110. Mitaksara recommands the same policy. Narada, XVIII, 20-23, p. 217.

unrestricted as we have shown above. The Manu Smrti further tells us that he should be honest in acquisition of wealth and discerning in his munificence, and condemn unjust taxation as detrimental to the welfare of the state. In the words of Yajnavalkya again "a king who multiplied his treasury by unfair (taxation) from his kingdom was in no time shown of his prosperity and met with destruction along with his own people."2 Moreover, in accordance with the rules of ancient political economy, wealth must be well protected and well spent, and the surplus distributed among worthy persons. Thus a large portion of the royal wealth must be spent on donations to the Brahmanas and on the protection and welfare of his subjects. For as Yajnavalkya, again, says, "there was no higher religion for kings" than this. The material prosperity of the state was deemed to depend upon the measure of protection and happiness which the king could confer upon all the people in his dominions.

The king, being the sovereign lord of the state, and all land being vested in him as state property, could make gifts of it to whomsoever he desired. He could issue orders to build temples and monasteries and to construct dams, he could command officers and cultivators regarding grants, and appoint and promote officers even though their offices were hereditary.

^{1.} Manu, VII, p. 237.

^{2.} Yajnavalkya, II, p. 631.

^{3.} Ibid., III, p. 401.

^{4.} Fleet, op.cit., III, pp. 45, 56, 64.

^{5.} Ibid., pp. 52, 169, 199.

^{6. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., pp. 35, **36** 63.

He could give shelter to foreigners who came to settle down in his lands, and impose, recover and remit taxes. This is also clear from the Maitraka copper-plates which reveal how King Dharasena IV "intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes," while Dhruvasena III levied "according to proper custom taxes from his enemies lands."

In the work of government the king was assisted by his officials who were collectively known as the amatya. The Smṛtis tell us that it was the king's duty to select these officials. In doing so, he was enjoined to have a particular eye for their ability, wisdom and the family from which they came. In the work of keeping accounts, specially, the king should "appoint devoted, clever and honest men in posts suited to them and energetic men in the work of collection and disbursement." These departmental heads should be conversant with the law and imbued with a love for truth and should bear themselves impartially towards friends and foes alike. This

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 183.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Arthasastra, X, I, p. 6.

^{4.} Yajnavalkya, II, 312; Arthasastra, p. 15.

^{5.} Ibid., p. 53. Appointments of officers were made after Upadha i.e. after testing their minds as regards dharma, artha, kama and bhaya by various devices employed by secret agents.

Nitivakya Mruta, 14, p. 111, and Kamandaka IV, 277, as quoted by Kane, op.cit., III, p. 105. And the Matsya Purana (215, 2) prescribes "the king, while his head is still wet with water of coronation, if he wants to supervise his state, should chose his helpers, as in the latter the kingdom secures stability," also cf. Manu, VII, 55; Kane, op.cit., III, p. 104.

^{6.} Yajnavalkya, II, pt. 3, p. 636; Kane, op.cit., III, Ch.I, p. 1.

is borne out by Somesvara who also tells us that they were selected by the king himself according to their merit. They should be well versed in the Nitisastras and possess all the qualities calculated to win the affection of the people for their sovereign and to lead him along the path of righteousness by their timely advice. They should be natives of the land (svadesajatah), possessed of full information about the country and the times, and their offices were hereditary. Such doubtless were the ministers that attended on the Maitraka rulers, as amply shown by their grants.

The list of officers mentioned in the records of the Maitrakas and their contemporaries is fairly large and comprehensive enough to give us an idea of their administrative machinery. They seem to have been listed in order of their importance in the official cadres. Among the most important are the rajaputra (the prince), the rajamatya (king's counsellor), the dutaka² (who in most cases was also the heir apparent), the rajasthaniya, the mahasandhivigrahika (minister for war and peace), the Mahaksapatalika (the chief keeper of records), the mahasananta (the chief feudatory), the mahasanapati (the commander in-chief), the divira or divirapati (an officer entrusted with working out of accounts), the viniyuktaka, maxayaktaka, "---

^{1.} Bomesvara, Monasollasa, vv 52-59, pp. 33-4.

^{2.} The word dutaka generally means a messenger, was an officer employed in connection with formal grants.

^{3.} In the Valabhi grants the designation divirapati is always used as a title for the official who drew up the Sasanas, as prescribed by the Smrtis (Cf. Manu, VIII, 63-65).

the ayuktaka, the mahapratihara (the head chamberlain or door-keeper), the mahadandasadhasadhanika (the chief door-keeper or superintendent of villages), the mahadandanayaka (the chief judge whose duties also included those of the head-police officer and magistrate), and the mahakumaramatya (the chief counsellor to the prince or the heir-apparent). This hierarchy of officers was in all probability taken by the Maitrakas with very few modifications from their predecessors the Guptas.

who were very often princes of the blood royal constituted by themselves the Parisad or the council of ministers. Their functions included a discussion of all state matters, legislation on civil and military affairs, planning of the foreign policy and administration of justice and finance. In short, the council of ministers carried the burden of the country's administration. On occasion, however, the king could veto their

^{1.} The functions of the ayuktaka and those of the Viniyuktakas do not seem to be clear. However, the former designation is very ancient, & reference to it been found even in Panini (cf. II, 3, 40). Very probably the word denotes a person appointed to discharge some special duty having religious or charitable purpose. The office of aykta-purusa of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, op.et.loc.cit., line 26) may have some similarity to this office. As for Viniyuktaka we may presume from Kalidas' Raghuvamsa (V, 29, p. 103) (Kosagrahe niyuktaka) that he was appointed to administer the treasury.

^{2.} Cf. Bohligk and Roth, <u>Sanskrit Worterbuch</u>, III, p. 787; Apte, the <u>Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</u>, p. 582.

^{3.} Beni Prasad, The Theory of Government in Ancient India, pp. 257-260.

decisions if he saw fit to employ such a check on their action. The Parisad along with the royal princes and the feudatories of the empire constituted the sabha or the king's council. The most important functions of this body of elders seems to have been the declaration of war and peace, the appointment of a successor to the throne and the summoning of periodic religious councils. Scarcely any evidence worth the name is forthcoming from the Maitraka records on these matters, and for an idea of the working of these bodies we have to fall back on the inscriptions and literary evidence left by other contemporary rulers. All the same, a conclusion would not be justified that the Maitrakas developed a system of their own.

Assisted by the council of ministers the king in those days carried on the administration of the empire. The purely executive functions of the government were discharged by a number of other officials who constituted the several departments of the state, such as the civil secretariat, the revenue department, the police department, the war-office, the judiciary and so forth.

In the provinces the work of administration was carried on by the respective officials at the head of territorial divisions assisted by other subordinate officials. These territorial subdivisions which were administrative units under the Maitraka

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>; Saletore, <u>op.cit</u>., pp. 243-248.

^{3.} Mookerjee, op.et loc.cit.

^{4.} Saletore, op.et loc.cit.

regime, as recorded in the inscriptions were the aharani, the sthali, the pathaka, the chara, the petha, the visaya, the patta, 7 the bhumi, 8 the bhukti, 9 the dranga, 10 the grama, 11 the padraka, 12 and the palli. 13 Of these the Visaya and the bhukti were synonymous as evident from the copper-plate records, which refer to Malavaka in one case as a bhukti and in another as a visaya, 15 leaving no difficulty for identifying the two administrative units. The ahara and the aharani were also synonymous as indicated by two different records of the Maitraka kings, of which one refers to Hastavapra as aharani, 16 while the other designates it an ahara 17 only. Then again in a grant of

^{1.} Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 45; E.I., III, p. 319.

^{2.} Keilhorn, op.cit., XIV, p. 328.

^{3.} Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 83.

^{4.} Sukthankar, op.cit., XV, p. 257; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 22.

^{5.} Fleet, op.cit., XV, p. 187; Bha.Pr.San.Ins., p. 30; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 38.

^{6.} Buhler, op.cit., VI, p. 9; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 45.

^{7.} Sten Konow, op.cit., XI, p. 112.

^{8.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 179.

^{9.} Hultzsch, op.cit., VIII, p. 188, Mandalik, op.cit., J.B.B.R.A.S XI, p. 335.

^{10.} Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 87.

¹¹¹ Acharya, op.cit; J.B.B.R.A.S., (N.S.) I, p. 73.

^{12.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, pp. 70-77.

13. Buhler, op.cit., XV, p. 339; Dr. Sankalia has taken words pravesya, bheda and bhumi occurring in the Maitraka records as units of administration, but from the context they do not

appear to be so, as we have explained else where.

14. Hultzsch, op.cit., VIII, p. 188; Acharya, op.cit., I, No.68.

^{15.} Gadre, op.et loc.cit; Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 69.

^{16.} Hultzsch, "Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I," E.I., III, p. 323.

^{17.} Sukthankar, "Two New Grants of Dhruvasena I from Palitana", E.I., XVII, pp. 107-108.

Dharasena II of the year 2701 the expression Khetaka-aharavisaya shows that the term ahara and visaya were some times, but not generally, used synonymously. As the Hastavapra-ahara. the Kaundinyapura visaya and the Vardhamana bhukti formed the main divisions of Surastra the unit ahara also seems to be synonymous with the visaya and the bhukti. It is thus clear that even if the designations given to these units are not the same, very little fifference existed between them. This difference may be explained from the Kavigrant dated 486 of the Gurjara kings, where the visaya appears to have been taken as a larger administrative area than a rastra (or ahara); for the Kavi grant of Jayabhatta first mentions the Visayapati, then the rastrapati and last of all the grama-mahattara.2 and bhumi are mentioned as sub-divisions of the visaya in two different records. The pathaka is represented as a subdivision of the ahara, while the unit petha was included in a sthali. However, there is no direct reference to the exact position of the sthali in relation to the ahara and the pathaka. For, like the pathaka in Surastra the sthali is also mentioned without any reference to the next large division to which it belonged. But two different references to Jambuvanara in two

2. Buhler, "Inscription from Kavi," I.A., V, p. 114.

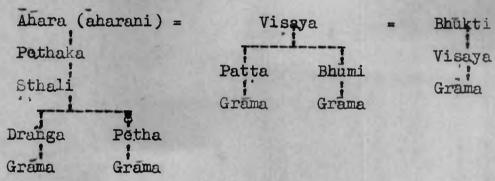
5. Fleet, op.cit., XV, p. 87.

^{1.} Buhler, op.cit., VII, pp. 70-71.

^{3.} Hultzsch, op.cit., I, p. 86; Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 88.

^{4.} Acharya, op.cit., (N.S.) I, p. 20; Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 73.

grants imply that a sthali must have been included in a pathaka, for one refers to it as a sthali, while another mentions it simply as a village in the Kalapaka pathaka. The Dranga was one of the smaller units, but it is not specified to which larger unit it belonged. However, the location of the villages of this dranga suggests that these places must have been situated in the same sthali in which Lusa and Dandasa were situated. Thus it appears that the dranga was a sub-division of the sthali. The grama was the smallest unit. Inter-relations between these various units may be summed up as:-



It is thus plain that the largest administrative subdivision in the system adopted by the Maitrakas was the Visaya.

It was welknown in the Gupta, Pala and other systems of government and appears to have been the equivalent of a Pradesa
mentioned in the Eran inscription of Samudragupta, governed by
a Visayapati.² Under the Guptas, however, whose territories
were far greater in extent and included the dominions of the

^{1.} Hultzsch, op.cit., XI, p. 81; Durus, op.cit., VII, p. 968. 2. Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

Maitrakas as one of their provinces, the Visaya was not the largest administrative unit and ranked after rastra or desa. 2

The Visayapati or the governor of the Visaya who represented the king, away in the capital of the empire, was like him in all probability the head of the provincial government. Possibly he too had his own advisory council. This was really the case under the Gupta system. For example the inscription of Vetravarman, the governor of the Kotivarsa Visaya, states that he was assisted by an advisory board, consisting of the nagarsresthin or the guild-president, the sarthavaha or the chief caravan leader, the prathama-kulika or the chief merchant and artisan, and the Jyestha-Kayastha or the chief scribe.3 Such district officers had their headquarters (adhisthana) in the principal town where they maintained their officers, courts and establishments of clerks according to their respective positions. The Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant of Kumaragupta dated 432-33 A.D. clearly states that the intending purchasers of land had to approach the householders (Kutumbinah) of officers in charge of the eight families (gramasthakutadhikarana) and the elders of the village (mahamattara) before any transaction could be completed.

The old designations continued to be applied albeit to units very much diminished in size. For Surastra which together

Ibid., p. 169.
 Bask, "The five Damodar Plate Inscriptions," E.I., XV, pp.131.

^{3.} Thid.

with a part of Gujarat and Malava formed the bulk of the Maitraka dominions, was itself a little larger than a Visaya in the sense familiar to the Guptas. Under the Mauryas the whole Gujarat-Kathiawad had gone under the designation of janapada and its divisions rastra, visaya, pradesa, ahara and grama, were somewhat similar to those mentioned in the Asokan Inscriptions and the Arthasastra of Kautilya. After the possessions of the Mauryas had come under Greek influence, it is believed to have become a Greek province on the model of the Seleucid eparchies, and that a full Satrapy was established there with a governor responsible only to the king. During the early rule of the Sakas Kathiawad became an outlying province of their dominions. continued to be so after their conquest of Gujarat when for a brief period this country became a part of the Andhra empire. Its status seems to have improved considerably when the Ksatrapa king Rudradaman established himself in Malava more or less as an independent ruler of Western India. The entire province was then governed by his amatyas. During the domination of the Guptas its condition appears to have remained much the same, and it was from the latter that the Maitrakas took their administrative system.

When a subdivision was termed an ahara, the officer at its head was generally called rastrapati, but sometimes he was also

^{1.} Dikshitar, The Mauryan Polity, p. 70.

^{2.} Arthasastra, II, i, 46.

called an amatya. The former office corresponded to that of rastrika of the Mauryans which was of hoary and unknown antiquity through the Seythians to the Maitraka times. But we find no mention made of a 'rastra' as an administrative unit under the Maitrakas although the rastrapati is mentioned frequently enough. The reason for this would appear to be that the rastra was just another name for the ahara as under the Scythians, as for instance the Satahani rattha or rastra is referred to as Satavahani-hara (ahara)². The word ahara which till about the sixth century of the Christian era was used in Surastra in the form aharani, probably denoted a collectorate. It is a derivation from the root hr with a, meaning to bring or to fetch. We have also a key to its meaning in the Mauryan term 'Samaharta' (collectory, which is derived from the same root a 'sam' added to a.

At the ahara headquarters may have been stationed among others the following officers: the adhikaranika, the dandapasika and the sthanadhikarana. The dandapasika was a prominent officer in the Gupta period, while the other two are known to have existed before the advent of the Maitraka rule. The dandapasika was apparently a head polic-officer under whom chaurodharanikas, the vartamapalas, the pratisarakas and other subordinate phlice

^{1.} E.g. the Goverdhana-ahara (present Nasik) was governed by Amatya Visnupalita and Mamala-ahara by Amatya Gupta.cf.

^{2.} Raychaudhari, op.cit., p. 328.

^{3.} Dikshitar, op.et loc.cit.

^{4.} op. at E. 3. Vur p. 46.

officials exercised their functions. The Sthanadhikaranas, to all appearances, corresponded to the present day thanadars, and were entrusted with magisterial as with police functions. Even now in Kathiawad and in the Rajputana states these functions are found to have been conducted by the same officer. adhikaranika was the chief judicial magistrate of the ahara or rastra.

The pathakas the next administrative divisions were to be found not only in Surastra but also in Anarta. The grants of the Gurjara kings of Nandod and of the Rastrakuta show that they were to be found in Latadesaas well. The village Patanaka, we are told, 1 lay at a distance of about 38 miles from the Kalapaka headquarters of the Pathaka. This appears to correspond with the distance between their modern representatives, Padana and Kalawad, and if our surmise is correct it follows that the pathaka extended over a large area of at least 400 square miles. we find three pathakas recorded as being in Surastra and seven in the Khetaka-ahara. The term pathaka itself appears to have been uncommon in Surastra, where we find the sthali mentioned more frequently. It was possibly first used to denote a region through which a big road (path) passed.

The bhumi is mentioned only in one grant, which refers to the village Pangulapallika in the Ghrtalayabhumi in the Sivabhaga-

^{1.} Cf. Chapter on Geography.
2. Buhler, op.cit., VII, p. 76.

^{3.} cf. chapter on Geography. 4. Keilhorn, op. et loc. cit. Achanya, up. et loc. cit

pura visaya. It is not mentioned in the records of any other dynasty. However, the Maitraka records refer to it as a main sub-division of the visaya like the pathaka and possibly it may have been equivalent to the latter.

The Bantia grant refers to a village in the Uttarapatta of the Kaundinyapura visaya, and a second Maitraka grant mentions a village in the Daksina-patta of the Sivabhagapura-visaya. Clearly therefore, the patta was a main sub-division of the visaya and was to be found in Surastra and Anarta as well. Khoh grant of king Hastin shows that it was to be found also in central India. From the context of these grants it appears that a visaya was generally divided into Northern and the Southern Pattas like a province in our own days. The word 'patta' itself seems to have a close affinity with 'patti' or 'pattika' meaning 'a strip of land'. Patta may also be connected with 'pataka' which usually means a splitter or divider. The term 'patta' may, therefore, be interpreted to mean a sub-division of a visaya. The names and designations of officers who were placed in charge of the pathaka, the bhumi and the patta have not come down to us.

Coming now to the sthali, a comparative study of the grants shows that the term was used in Surastra only. In all, names of about eighteen sthalis are found to have been recorded in

^{1.} Diskalkar, op.cit., (N.S.) III, p. 184; E.I., XXI, p. 179.

Hultzsch, op.cit., I, p. 86.
 Fleet, op.cit., III, (21), p. 96.

Surastradesa. A Maitraka grant of V.S.290 also makes it evident that the sthalis mentioned in it were not far distant from each other. The headquarters Bilnakhata Jhari, and Vatapallika lay at a distance of about forty miles from each other. Accordingly sthalis included in this reigion region may have covered an area of about 100 square miles. As the word sthali means a natural spot of ground, it must have been originally used to designate a natural division. It may probably have been under the direct jurisdiction of the sthanadhikaranika, a 'sthali' and 'sthana' bear a close was similarity in sense and sound to each other.

Next we come to the dranga or town. This was one of the more important smaller units of administration as suggested by the office of drangika in whose charge it was placed. It also included a number of villages in its jurisdiction; for we see three grants of the Maitraka kings refer to villages belonging to the Mandali-dranga. Generally a dranga was styled pura, puri, pattana, nagara and so forth. The office of Drangika is peculiar to the Maitraka regim and is not to be found either under the Guptas or the remoter predecessors of the Maitrakas.

The term petha has so far been found occurring in one grant only, 4 which refers to Vatagrama in the Dipanaka petta in the

^{1.} Cf. Chapter on Geography.

^{2.} Fleet, op.cit., XV, p. 187.

Buhler, op.cit., IV, p. 174; Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 85;
 Gadre, op.cit., (\$.A.O.C.), VII, p. 659.

^{4.} Fleet, op.cit., XV, p. 187.

Bilvakhata sthali. The conclusion is that a petha was larger than a grama but smaller than a sthali. Pethas were also to be found in Central India as it is evident from the Khoh grant of king Saamksobha and the Khoh grant of Sarvanatha. 2 As suggested before the word may "be traced to the root of Karnataka influence for even now in Kannada, the word pethe means a market town, a place of sale, or long street of shops in a town."2

The grama or the village was the smallest administrative unit of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. It provided an excellent example of local self government in ancient India which has persisted down to our own times in the village-panchayat. was known, however, even in the Vedic age. 5 Kautilya refers to several villages repeatedly as gramas. Other names for this unit were gramaka, 7 palli etc.

The grama was in the charge of the gramakuta. We find this officer mentioned frequently in the grants. In the Gupta

3. Saletore, op.cit., p. 314; cf. Kittel, Kanarese-English

9. Paithinasi quoted by Apararka (p. 239) states that "food of a gramakuta could not be partaken by a Brahmana", cf. Kane,

op.cit., III, p. 154.

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., XX No. 25.

^{2.} Ibid., No. 31.

Dictionary, (Manglore), 1894, p. 1015. 4. That the Palitana grant of king Dhruvasena I referred to the Jyesthanaka grama belonging to the Aksasaraka-pravesya in the Hastavapraharani, shows that grama was the smallest unit of administration, cf. E.I., XVII, pp. 107-108.

^{5.} Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index and Names of Subjects, I, verse 5, p. 96.

^{6.} Arthasastra, III, Ch. I, p. 46.

Fleet, op.cit., III, (22), p. 103.
 Dhruva, "Three land grants from Sankheda", E.I., II, pp. 19 ff.
 According to the Sukranitisara (I, 193) an area of land consisting half a village was called palli, and half of palli a Kumbha, cf. Kane, op.cit., III, p. 154.

records he is known as the gramika and in the Scythian records as the gramani, 2 gramika or gramabhojaka 4. A somewhat similar officer is also found in the Kalachuri records viz. the rastragrama-mahattara-adhikarika. The contemporary Gurjara records also mention a gramakuta, while in the later records of the western Chalukyas this officer is known as the gramabhogika while according to Mr. Kane the word garunda for a village headman in Canares districts is derived from gramakuta.

The gramakuta or head of the village was assisted by a mahattara who was acknowledged by the people and the government as the most experienced and able person in that area. This is inferred from the Valabhi records where the mahattara is mentioned along with the policemen and soldiers. The mahattara is mentioned very late in the Maitraka list of officers. In the mediaeval period he was regarded no more than a village elder. Maitraka records also the designation seems to have been used to denote probably the seniormost man in a village, who was acknowledged, both by the people and the government, as the most

^{1.} Ray, op.cit., IV, p. 463.

^{2.} Luders, "List of Brahmi Inscriptions," E.I., X, p. 159.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 10. 4. Ibid., p. 139.

^{5.} Cf. Sankalia, op.cit., p. 197.

^{6.} Kane, op.cit., III, p. 154.

^{7.} Whether such a person as the mahattara was one of the members of the panca-mandali, the assembly of five persons, it is is not possible to infer. The assembly of five persons must have existed as mentioned by the Sanchi. Stone-inscription of Chandragupta (Fleet, op.cit., p. 32) and Bana's Harsacharita, p. 225.

experienced and able person in the place. The Gupta records too make mention of an official bearing the same designation.

Besides him, it is possible that there was an assembly called sabhā to assist in the work of administration. The duties of this assembly were to look after the sale and purchase of land, the control of the local texation, the organisation of fairs etc. Members of the sabhā also acted as trustees of the village property. This position of trust was due to the fact that whenever a grant was made, the donor entrusted it to these men.

Then there were the Chemroddharanika who corresponded to our own police officer and whose duty was to apprehend thieves; while the Cata and the Bhata who possibly protected the particular area entrusted to them by investigation of crime. The agrahara or the officer in charge of the agraharas, who though not found in the Maitraka records, is mentioned by Bana. The village had also their record-keeper, the dhruva or gramaksapatalika. According to Fleet this was the same as the aksapatalika. Aksapatalädhikrta whose literal meaning is an officer appointed to the duty of depositing legal documents.

Another village official who probably assisted the Gramakuta

^{1.} Fleet, "Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II", <u>C.I.I.</u>, III, p. 218.

^{2.} Bana, op.cit., p. 208.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 198.

^{4.} Fleet, "Spurious Gaya Copper-plate Inscription of Samudra-Gupta", C.I.I., III, p. 257.

^{5.} Ibid. This officer perhaps counte a secrete police Literally : le

in his duties was the Vartamapala who was the road watch-man. This officer was often mounted on horseback and was stationed in thanas or small roadside sheds.

The pratisaraka was a guard and his duties comprised watching the fields and villages at night time.²

The office of Cata seems to have been a peculiar one. Yajnavalkya speaks of him in the company of thieves etc. "as men who are likely to be injurious to the public." Again, in the Mrchchhakatika a friend of the hero says that 'even dogs won't go to a place where the Catas, courtesans etc. reside. Dr. Bhadkhamkar has suggested that the similarity in sound of the word Cata with chatu 'flattery' is so great that one is tempted to translate it as'a flatterer'. Hence, we may presume that the Cata may have been a sort of policeman whose duty was to guard against flatters.

But beyond a cursorty knowledge that is confined to these facts, it is difficulty for us to reconstruct a complete picture of village under the Maitrakas awing to that lack of details.

Their records, which are our main insering inspiration, are almost bare, being merely gift deeds.

^{1.} Buhler, "Additional Valabhi Grant," I.A., VII, p. 68.

^{2.} Ibid. This officer perhaps connote a secrete police. Literally it means "one who goes again".

^{3.} Yajnavalkya, I, 413.

^{4.} Mrchchhakatika, I, act V, p. 223, line 63. (Bom.San.Series)
(The book is attributed to king Subraka).

^{5.} Bhadkhamkar, op.cit., XI, pp. 175-7. The offices of Cata and bhata were considered to be one, for a long time, but Dr. Bhadkhamkar has now rightly separated and has mentioned their respective duties.

The Manu Smrti tells us that it is the duty of the king "to appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, villagest lords of a hundred and lords of a thousand villages."1 The lords of single villages were expected to report to the lords of ten villages, immediately superior, the crimes committed in their respective villages, and in their turn, these heads of ten villages were expected to report to their superiors, the heads of twenty. Each of the officials was to administer the region under him with the assistance of his immediate superior, and at the head of the entire structure was the king.² Each received a **sk** salary according to his status. If he was in charge of a group of ten he could get one kula that is, as much land as would suffice to maintain one family; if he was at the head of a group of twenty he could get five times as much; while the suprintendent of a group of hundred, and of a group of a thousand villages could get the entire revenue of a village and a town respectively, as remuneration. 3 Further, each town had its own suprintendent of affairs. His work was to visit by turns all the officials under him, and to suprintend their work in the districts through his agents. 4 The Maitraka system in all probability conformed to this model.

Several scholars have referred to some more administrative

^{1.} Manu, (>BEXX) p. 234.

^{2.} Ibid., VII, 116-7.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 235.

units of the Valabhi kings such as the pravesya, the prapa, the bheda and the mandali. Dr. Sukthankar derives the words pravesya and prapiya from pravesa daxy and prapa respectively, and he tries to interpret them as territorial divisions. 2 But Dr. Sten Konow has taken both these words as synonymous and interpreted them in the ordinary sense as meaning that "which is entered from" i.e. which borders on. Another grant refers to Pippalarunkhari as lying on the western border of Anumanji, 4 while another still refers to Samipadravetaka as Pippalarukharipravesya and to pippalarunkhari as Anumanji-pravesya. From this it is clear that the term pravesya does not denote an administrative unit, but has got the same sense as implied in the word 'ante' i.e. 'on the border of'. Similarly, the word 'prapiya' which is generally construed with 'sthali' must be interpreted to convey the ordinary sense 'to be arrived at from' i.e. 'lying in the vicinity of', as the roots 'vis' with 'pra' and 'ap' with 'pra' have only a very minute difference in their meanings. Hence both the words must be taken to mean 'on the border of',

^{1.} The term mandali is traced to the expression 'sopokedraka-mandalyam' in a Maitraka grant (Diskalkar, op.cit., (N.S)I, pp. 17 ff.) however, it is found to be a wrong reading for the expression 'sodakena kamandaluna' which also occurs in another grant of the same dynasty (Buhler, op.cit., VII, pp. 67 ff.)

^{2.} Sukthankar, op.cit., XVII, pp. 106 ff.

^{3.} Sten Konow, op.cit., XI, pp. 110 ff.

^{4.} Buhler, op.cit., IV, p. 1051 105.

^{5.} Buhler, op.cit., IV, p. 174; Barnett, op.cit., XIII, p. 234.

just as samipa, 1 and pratyasanna, 2 which mean, 'in the vicinity of'. Further, the word 'bheda' occurs only in one grant which refers to a place named Bhatarkabheda as marking the southern boundary of a plot of land. 3 Its exact meaning cannot be made out, from the context which however makes it clear that the word denotes some small spot and not a territorial division. Thus it may be concluded that the Valabhi kingdom comprised the units mentioned above to which may be added rastra and desa which were used to designate the entire province of Surastra.

A word may now be said about the fiscal administration of the Maitrakas. It is well known that in ancient times when religion held complete sway over the minds of men, every item of taxation which the king might levy was fixed by divine dispensatio as revealed through the Smrtis. The copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings furnish us with several interesting details of their fiscal administration. As most of these grants record gifts of land, we are in a position to study the various proprietory rights allowed to the donees, the various systems of land tenure in vogue at the time, and the amount of revenue assessed on these lands. Agriculture being the main avocation of the people, revenue from land holdings must have been one of the most important sources of income to the state. The chief of these land taxes as we find them mentioned in the Valabhi

^{1.} Acharya, op.cit., (N.S.) I, p. 67; Mandlik, op.cit., XI, pp.335f: 2. Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 82; Acharya, op.cit., p. 135.

Gadre, op.cit., III, p. 82; Acharya, op.cit., p. 135.
 Fleet, op.cit., XV, p. 187.

records were the udranga, the uparikara, the dhanya, the bhoga, the bhaga, the hiranya, and the visti (forced labour).

The terms udranga and uparikara are explained in various ways. Right to collections from both these taxes were assigned to the refeipients of the religious gifts. The term udranga has been equated by Dr. Buhler to the marathi word udhar (in the This suggestion is supported by the Sasvatakosa in which the words udranga and udhar are mentioned as being equi-Udranga may then be taken to denote the revenue imposed on the permanent tenants, who had to pay the total revenue of the village in gross. 10 It must probably have been levied on those who were granted land with a permanent proprietory right to it. The 'uparika' tax on the other hand seems to have been levied on cultivators who had no proprietory rights in the soil, as may be gathered from Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the term. 11 It is also interpreted to mean a tax (kara) imposed on those who are above the right of proprietorship. 12 Evidently it was a tax contrary to the udranga. Thus the land tax paid by the

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., III, pp. 166 ff.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>,

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid. 5. Ibid.

^{6.} Ibid.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 170.

^{8.} Buhler, op.cit., XII, p. 189.

^{9.} Sasvatakosa, XXIX, p. 260.

^{10.} Ghosad, Hindu Revenue System, p. 210.

^{11.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 96, n. 6. 12. Saletore, op.cit., p. 348.

proprietors was known as udranga, while that paid by the tenants of the soil was known as uparikara.

The tax levied on the produce of the land, whether paid by the proprietors or by the tenants, was commonly known as the bhaga. The word denotes the fixed royal share of land produce and generally this share was one-sixth of the total. Maitraka rulers who were described as having been true followers of the Smrtis 2 must have been very careful regarding the collection of this tax, for the Manusmrti lays down one-sixth of the total as the maximum that may be collected, while one-eighth and even one-twealth are recommended to the king.3 We know from the Maitraka records that king Dharasanena W claims to have reduced the usual rate of tenure, but unfortunately, the inscriptions do not give us any figures. The bhaga was a due (adeya), & and it was taken either in cash or kind. The term dhanyadeya (literally meaning corn) found in the inscriptions, denotes dues paid in kind, while hiranyadeya (meaning gold) denotes dues paid in cash. Bhoga seems to have been a petty tax payable in form

2. Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

^{1.} Dikshitar, Hindu-Administrative Institutions, p. 163.

^{3.} Manu, MII, 130; The Arthasastra advocates 25 per cent of the total revenue as a bhaga to be collected by the State, cf. V, Ch. 2.

^{3.} Ibid

^{5.} Fleet, (op.cit., III, p. 254, n.1) has this term as an ordinary word meaning enjoyment (of tax), but as given in the Manu Smrti and the Arthasastra, it must have been used as a fiscal term. cf. Manu, VII, 5; Arthasastra, II, VI, p. 58.

of daily presents in kind, such as fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass etc. An officer called the Bhogadharanika or bogika was in charge of the collection of this tax. We may, therefore, conclude that the term bhaga and bhoga covered all kinds of land revenue.

Another tax called the visti or the forced labour has been referred in most of the records of the period. It was the tax for the poor. For the Hindu polity had kata keminan laid down the proposition that every citizen ought to pay something by may way of taxation to the state in return for the protection that he gets, however, poor he may be. Taxation whether in cash or kind was both impractical and cruel in case of the poor class. It was, therefore, that the state was allowed to levy a tax in form of labour from such people like artisans, labourers etc. who were made to work for one or two days in a month for the state It was not possible for the state to collect this tax in central treasury, and therefore, it was realised partly during the tour of the king and the officers of the central government, and partly for the routine work like cleaning the villages, and government granary.²

Another important source of state revenue was the saulka or the tolls. The existence of this tax is inferred from the name of the officer saulkika who must have been in charge of its

^{1.} Cf. Naravana's Commentary on Manu Smrti, VIII, 5.

^{2.} Kane, op.et loc.cit.,

The rate at which these tolls were collected is not mentioned in any of the records. The Maitraka records allude to two more similar taxes viz., the bhuta and vata. Although the significance of these terms cannot be precisely explained, it is possible that the term bhuta meant 'what was produced in the land', and that 'vata' denoted 'what was procured from outside. Further we find the term 'pratyaya' in the expression 'sabhuta-vata-pratyaya' which may be explained on the analogy of 'adeya' found in the expression 'sa-dhanyahiranya-deya'5 to mean 'dues'. The vata possibly consisted of octroi duties & levied on articles imported into the country. But it is not clear on what products the bhuta tax was levied. It does not appear to have been mentioned as a tax on the produce of the soil, which came under the bhaga. Probably it was a tax levied on all products other than these yielded from the soil. The vartam, of which the vartamanapala of the Valabhi records, seems to have been in charge was another tax of a similar nature. The term vartam itself is found in the Arthasastra where it is referred to as a kind of roadacess.7

Lastly, we have one more source of state revenue, as

^{1.} Fleet, op.cit., p. 52; Buhler, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Altekar, Rastrakutas and Their Times, p. 229.

^{3.} The term & 'va' means to invite, to procure etc.

^{4.} Acharya, op.cit., I, No. 93.

^{5.} Ibid.

^{6.} Ibid.

^{7.} Arthasastra, II, 21.

gathered from the records, known as the danda or the fine. The officer Dasapardhika was appointed to collect the fines imposed on persons found guilty of any of the ten offences. These ten offences, as Dr. Fleet has suggested, were probably the ten sins named in the Dharmasastras. Of these (i) there are three of the body, himsa, steya and the paradaropaseva, (ii) four are of speech, anrta, parusa, asambaddha-prelapa, (iii) and the last three according to the same work, are of the mind, paradravyesu-abhidana, anista-chintana and vitathabhimves.

There might of course, have been other miscellaneous sources of income for the state such as the spoils of war, 4 emergency taxation, tributes from faudatories and war so on. For, though they are not mentioned anywhere in the records of the Maitraka kings, they may easily be inferred from eulogies of the kings. 5

There are also the names of a few fiscal officials mentioned in the grants who must have been concerned in such additional items of taxation. There was the anutapannadanasamgrahaka who was in charge of collecting from farmers the long due share of the state i.e. the collection of arrears of the state revenue. There was the dhruva or dhruvadhikarna whose business was to superintend the collection of the grain produce and to make sure that the

^{1.} Kane, op.cit., II, pp. 837-888.

^{2.} The Danda must have included Rajasevakanam Vasatidanda, Prayanadanda, chatu-bhata pravesa danda, etc. Kane, op.et loc. cit. Flet, op. et loc. it

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Keilhorn, op.et loc.cit; Diskalkar, op.et loc.cit.

^{5.} Acharya, op.cit., No. 93; Buhler, op.cit., XI, p. 335.

collectors do not collect more than the proper share of the state.

The land revenue must have implied on elaborate system of land tenure with precise measurements of plots over which the state levied the tax. We know that the grants give the exact extent of the plots of land with their four boundaries (aghātanani) specifically mentioned. For instance in the Vala grant of Dhruvasena II a plot of land is described as "the (third) plot lies on the north boundary and measures ten padavartas of land; to its east (lies) the field tilled by Adityadatta; to the south, the field tilled by Sangamadinna, to the west, the field tilled by Dasaka, and to the north the field tilled by Dasaka." Thus the precise description of the plot or well was given, as in our own times. In every case a plot of land must have been described in the records by their limits bounded by another plot of land, a well, a road, a border of a particular village, a river, a pand, a tree and so forth. Thus showing that Valabhi kingdom possessed mm an elaborate and efficient system of land survey and measurement. In the measurement of land some kind of whit must have been used. The standard unit of the Maitrakas as seen from their records, was the padavarta. 2 As to the extent of this unit the copper-plate grants tell us that a plot of land given in gift measured from ten to seven-hundred

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^{1.} Acharya, op.cit. (N.S.), I, p. 72; Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

^{2.} Bloch, op.cit., (1895), p. 382.

padavartas; wheras a vapi or a step-well measured from twelve to fifty-five padavartas. This shows that the padavarta cannot be as small an unit as a square foot as explained in Monier William's dictionary. For, according to this author a plot of 10 padavartas measures only about ten square feet in all, which would be too small an area to be recorded as a gift on a copperplate grant. On the other hand Dr. Fleet's suggestion seems to be nearer the mark. According to him a plot of 100 padavartas may measure a hundred feet each way, in other words, ten thousand square feet.

The padavarta seems to have been the standard unit of measurement. However, there were others in different parts of the country. One such unit was the bhakti. It must have been the standard in Malava; for we find among the Maitraka records two known grants of land in Malava measured in bhaktis. In the absence of proper evidence the extent of a bhakti cannot be ascertained. It seems however, that it may not have been much larger or smaller than a square foot. We next find an unit known as vrihipitakas (baskets of vrihi). This unit was probably used for measureing land in the Khetaka district. From the term Vrihipitaka it is evident that one unit represented a plot of

^{1.} Acharya, op.et loc.cit; Sukthankar, op.cit., XV, p. 256.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Bhandarkar, M.P.R.A.S.W.C., 195-16, p. 55; Diskalkar, op.cit. (N.S.) I, p. 59.

^{4.} Fleet, op.cit., III, p. 170.

^{5.} Gadre, op.cit., p.

land on which one standard sized basket-full of corn could be sown. The property plots recorded to have been gifted measured one, two or even four vrihipitakas. That the vrihipitaka was in use in Khetaka is further indicated by the expression 'Khetaka-manena'. In the Bharukachchha district also the unit of land measurement was vrihipitaka, which, however was probably not the same as the Khetaka standard; but as we find no specific reference given of the Bharukachchha vrihipitaka it must have been of the general standard in use elsewhere among the neighbouring districts. Thus the exact extent of one vrihipitaka plot of land cannot be made out from the extent evidence.

^{1.} Sulthan Kar, op. et loc. cit; Achanga, op. et loc. cit

^{2.} Buhler, methoc cit

PART III

GEOGRAPHY



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES MENTIONED
IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY.

Valabhi, the celebrated capital of the Maitrakas, roughly corresponds to the town of Vala, the present capital of a small state of the same name in Kathiawad. It lies roughly 18 miles to the north-west of Bhavanagar. To the local population Vala is known as Valeh which represents the Praket form of Valabhi.

Though it is now a few miles away from the Bhavanagar creek, Valabhipura was in ancient days an important part in the gulf of Cambay. Its present position is due to the natural physical changes which in course of time have silted up the western portion of the creek. The excavations at Vala have disclosed the old ruins of Valabhi under its layers.

The Maitraka kingdom at the height of its power included the Surastra, on its western boundary; in the east, as attested by both the epigraphical 2 records and the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa, it extended as ar as Ujaini. The northern boundary may be traced to

^{1.} By an ukase recently issued the state authorities have reverted to the original name, so the capital is once more called Valabhipura (from 25th May 1945), while the state itself will continue to be known as the Vala state. cf. "Vala nu Valabhipura"

Jamma bhumi, Monday, 23rd July, 1945.

Valabhi is described in Sanskrit literature, whether Brahmanical, Jaina or Buddhist, as the capital of Surastra. This has been supported by the epigraphical records of the Maitrakas who ruled over this country for about three centuries from the last quarter of the fifth century down to the eighth century A.D. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in narrating his account of this country in the seventh century mentions it as a territory under the sway of king Dhruvapata (cf. Watters, op.cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 266), who is correctly identified with the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II.

^{2.} Gadre, op.cit., p. 659.

^{3.} Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 24.

Anandapura the present Vadanagara, while the southern limit of the kingdom streached at least upto Bharukachchha.2 It is further clear from these records that the region between the Sahya and the Vindhya was included in the Maitraka kingdom. 3 This fact bears testimony to the spread of the Maitraka wway in the south-east to the region beyond the Narmada and Satapuda as far as the Sahyadris. In the north-west Cutch may be included within its boundaries in as much as Hiuen Tsiang described it as an appanage of Malava, 4 which was governed by the Maitraka kings. This is further supported by the fact that some coins of the Maitrakas have been discovered in Cutch, though this is not a conclusive evidence for proving the spread of the Maitraka sway over the region. Thus the Valabhi kingdom from mount Abu in the north to the river Tapti in the south covered a length of about 280 miles, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to its eastern boundary at Avanti measured 480 miles.5

^{1.} Fleet, op.et.loc.cit.

^{2.} This is indicated not only by the military camp of Dharasena IV at the place, but king Siladitya III had actually made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha.

^{3.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

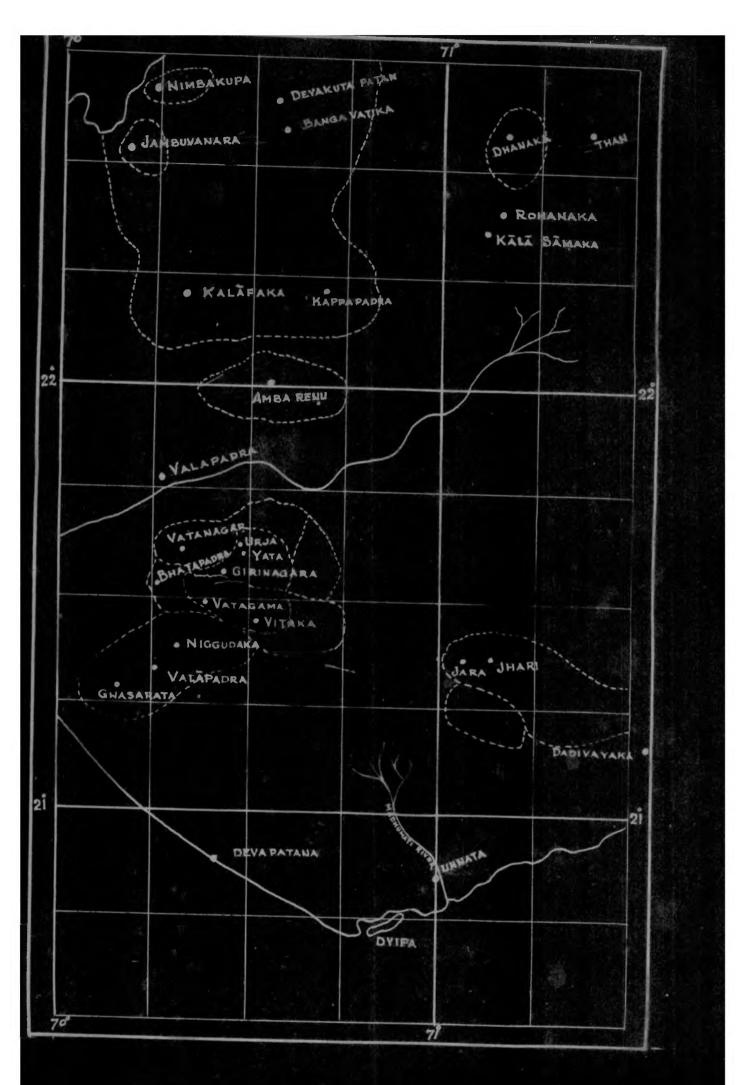
^{4.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 241.

^{5.} The Valabhi kingdom may roughly be taken to have spread over from 24°.45 N at the southern and again from 75°.45 E at the eastern to 69°E. at the western boundaries. This comes to the length of bout 400 miles from east to west and a breadth of more than 200 miles from north to south.

It was divided into several administrative units. The largest of these waxx was Visayas of which eight are mentioned in the sources now at our command: (1) Surastra, (2) Khetaka, (3) Malawaka, (4) Sivabhagapura, (5) Bharukachchha, (6) Suryapura, (7) Ghoras, and (8) Anandapura.

Each of these Visayas was divided into Aharas or Aharanis, and the Aharas into Pathakas, and these again into Bhukti, Bhumi, Petha, Mandali, Sthali Dranga and Gramas. The following is a list of geographical names that we find in the copper-plate grants:

The usual term used by the Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Maitrakas is Surastra (plural) and not Saurastra.
 Khetaka Ahara extended over an area of 50 miles from north to south as well as from west to east.



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

N.B: The numerals refer to the numerical corder in which the inscriptions are mentioned in the previous chapter on epigraphy.

Name of the Place

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks

Referenc

Ishikaranaka

Ambarenu-Sthali... Dr.Diskalkar has suggested that the name 'Ambaruna'. philogically resembles 'Amrana' which is 20 miles to the north-east of Dhrol. However, it is more likely to have been the same as another place called Ambardi on the Phophal river which is about 14 miles north-west of Virpura (Gondal) being nearer to the findspot of the grant.

Anandapura-Visaya... (It was the northeast part of the kingdom)

Anandapura is the present Vadanagara near Sidhapura.

Annata....

Antaratra in Surastra

Donee resided in this village, probably near Div Una ata distance of 50 miles from Maliya.

Bhumbhusa. Antaratra in Surastra.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Referenc
Dombhi- grama	Antaratrā in Surastra	This may be the same as a village called Dabhodar, 3 miles north-east of	23, 24.
		Veraval.	
moranjija.	-do	Probably modern Moruka, 8 miles north-east of Talaja, a railway-station on Veraval side.	71
			23
	-do		
Vijragrama	-do		23
Anymanji	Anumanji Sthali	This may have been modern	18,52
		Amreli.	
Dambhara	-do-	May be identified with Dabha	ala, 6/
		a place 24 miles away from	
		the findspot of the grant	
		viz. Amreli. It is 7 miles	
		south-east of Dhari.	
Pippalarun- khari	-do-		. 13, 18
Samapadra- vataka	-do-		18
Tranonadi	-do-	Donee's residence.	44
	Aristhijj ka Sthali		44
Ambarenu	Asikānaka in		2.1
A CONTRACTOR	Surastra.		90

Name of the Place

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

35

Asilapallika..

Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khetaka in Surastra

It has been identified with Asmal near Ahmedabad. It is also known as Asapalli which represents the site of the old Karnavati, the city built by the Sclanki king Karana, who reigned in the eleventh century (1064-94 A.D.). It is at a distance of 10 miles from Baryadi.

Bandarijidri

Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khetaka-ahara

This Pathaka was in the northern part of Khetaka. The headquarters Bandarijidri have been identified with Barijadi, a station between Ahmadabad and Memadabad on the B.B. & C. I.Ry. line. It is ten miles away to the north of Khetaka.

35-

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs	Identification and Remarks Reference
Bhadrenika	Baravana- Sthali in Surastra	There was a Sun-temple in 42 this village as recorded in the State of grant.
Goffarana- taka	Baravana in Surastra	49
Sihanaka	-do-	
	Bharukachchha - Visaya	
		Visayas of Southern Guj-
		arat, the others being
		Akrusesuara Vişaya and
		Sangrama-Khetaka Visaya.
	4	The present name of Bha- rukachchha is Broach.
Dharakhetaka	Dharakhetaka - Sthali	Its headquarters may be
		identified with Dhinuka, a
		village six miles north-
		west of Songadh, a station
		on the Bhavanagar State
		Railway line.
Devabhadri-	-do-	The Sthali including this 28
pallika		village have been near
		Hastavapra as two villages
		from both these divisions
		were denated to a vihara at
		Valabhi simultaneously. It

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
		may be the same as Devali, 6 miles from Vala.	
Vatagrāma	Dipanaka-Pathaka in Valva Khabha- Sthali in Sura- stra.		25
Amadāsputra	Ghasaraka Pathaka in Surastra.	It was situated in the vicinity of Vatadreha.	38
Ghasaraka	-do-	The headquarters of this Pathaka Ghāsaraka may be identified with Ghāsari, 5 miles wouth-west of Keshad	36
Vatadraka	-do-	Probably the same as the place called Vadādar, 3 miles north-east of Kishod.	38
Vyaghradina- naka	-do-		8-6
Ghrtalaya	Ghrtalaya Bhumi(It formed the eastern division of the Visaya.	The place may be identified with modern Ghutia on the Sutlu river and 8 miles to the north-east of Jambughods	
Panguluja- llika	-do-	The identification of this place with Patia in the Thasara taluka does not seem to be correct. It may be more	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
		correctly identified with a village Palia in the Sivar-	•
		ajapura Visaya bearing close affinity to the name.	
Vikillisa	Ghorasa Visaya		5.6
Akshasaraka	Aksharaka in Hasta- vapraahara in Surastra.		4,6,7,9
Akkotaka	In Hastavapra in Surastra.	Donee's residence, identi- fied with Akadia near Dhasa,	Lý
		2 miles to the west of Vala.	1390
Amakarakupa	In Hastavapra 77 ahara in Surastra		45
Atinishaka	-do-		2
Bhadrenika	-do-	In the neighbourhood of a village called Samihambara.	1,12,15
Bhallara	-do-	It may be identified with Bhalar, 4 miles south-west	9
		of Talaja about 18 miles	REE
		from Hathab and only one mile	9
		to north of Wilapadar.	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bhattika	In Hastavapra 11 ahara in Surastra	May be the same as present Bhadi, a village at a distance of about 8 miles to the west of Hathab, and 14	ζ2
		miles from Sihor where the donee resided.	
Chhedaka- Padraka	-do-		8
Chutika-grama	Aristhijjka Sthali in Surastra.		27
Dachchanaka	In Hastavapra ahara in Surastra	It is situated to the east of Bhatika.	62
Hariyanaka	In Akskasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāstra.		7,83
Hastavapra	In Hastavapra in surastra.	It has been identified with Hathab in the Koliyat taluk of Bhavanagar territory. It is about 15 miles south-eas of Bhavanagar, 6 miles to to south of Ghogha, 2 miles to	a t t he
		the south of Koliyak. It is situated at 72°16' E and 70 N on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.	°361

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Refere	enc
Jestanáka	In Akshasaraka in Hastavapra in Surastra.	4,6,7	,9.
Kalahataka	-do-	Identified with Kaliyak 10, 79 near Hathab. Its local variant form is Koliyat or Koliyad which is similar to the name Kalahataka.	9.
Khetaka Padraka. Kukleata Madkarna	In Hastavapra - do - takas -do-	Its identification with the 2. present village Makharid near Talaja is suggested on phonetical grounds.	The state of the state of
Maheshwara- dasenaka	-do-	It has been identified with 28. Mahadevapur, six miles south of Talāja, and about 25 miles south-west of Hathab. This place is 43 miles away from Vaļa where the receipent Vihara (of the grant) was situated.	
		Hence another Mahadevapura which is near Sihor may be taken for this place. It is 14 miles from Vala and about 21 miles from Hathab.	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Ref e rence
Nagaraka	In Hastavapra	Donee's residence	10, 11.
Natakaputra	-do-		11,12,15.
Samihambara	-do-	Near find spot of the plate	11,12,15.
		Aiavej, at a distance of 10)
		miles there is a village	
		named Samadhiala which may	
		be identified with	1000
		Samihambara.	
Santaputra	-do-	- I have been	61.
Shankarvataka	-do	Donee's residence.	2.
Simhapura	-do-	Donee's residence. Modern	3,9,87.
		Sihor, a junction of the	
		Bhavanagar State Railway,	
		14 miles S.E. of Valabhi an	d
		21 miles N.W. of Hastavapra	
Tapasiya	-do-		2.
Trisanghamaka	-do-	It has been identified with	1,50,58.
		Tarsamia, 3 miles S.E. of	
		Bhavanagar and about 4 mile	es
		N.E. of Hathab. According	to
		information gathered by Jac	kson
		a temple of Kottara Devi st	ood
		at this place.	

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Vansakatta	In Hastavapra	Donee's residence	71, 86.
Vasukiya	In Akshasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāstra.		9
Velapadra	-do-	Donee's residence. This may	9
		be the present Velamedar, a	
		village at a distance of 2	
		miles from Talaja and about	
V:tapadla Yodhavaka	-do- Donces	20 miles south-west of Hath	ab. Handay 8
		at this place by Skanda-	
		bhatta.	
Ekalika	In Jambuvanara in Surastra.		22,26.
Jambuvānara	-do-	It seems to be different	21.
		from the village of Jambuva	-
		vanara mentioned in the gra	nt
		No. 26. At a distance of	
		about 2 miles from Palitana	
		the findspot of the grant,	is
		situated a place named Jamb	-
		valia which may be identifi	ed
		with this village.	
Natyotaka	-do-		22.

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bhramara- kulya	In Jharisthali in Surastra	Near Velapadraka of the grants. It may be identi-fied with Bhamar, one mile N.W. of Uijpadi, a station on the side of Mahuva along Bhavanagar State Railway line.	
Dadhikripaka	-đo-	May be identified with the village of Dadhia, 4 miles to the east of Bhamar.	24.
Jhar	-do-	The headquarters of the Jharisthali may bave been Jhar which is also the find spot of the grant.	20. i-
Velápadraka	-do-	May be the same as Velivada in Kathiawad. It was to the west of Dadhikupaka as recorded by the grant.	
Kadambapadra	In Kadambapadra Sthali in Surastra	It was the headquarters of of the sthali.	22, 26.
Chitraka- șthalya	-do-		22, 26.

Name of the Place.	Tetritorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Kalapaka- pathaka	In Kadambapadra sthali in Surastra.	The headquarters of this Pathaka have been identified with Kalawad a village with	54
		a population of 2,500. It is 26 miles S.E. of Navanaga	ar.
Asvaniputra	In Kalapakapathaka in Surastra.		54
Bhadasaka	-do-	A chain of hills dandaka called Baratika is recorded in the grant as situated at the north of Bhadrenika.	elxxi -7
Bhasant	-do-	Identified with Bhesan, 16 miles east of Junagadha.	46.
Bhattaranaka	-do-	It lays to the S.W. of Pahmavatika.	22
Dabhaka	do		45.
Devakula		It lay to the west of Pah- mavatika, and may be identi- fied with Devali which is a common name for a number of villages in Kathiawad. Thi particular place was probab the present Devalia, 14 mil to the east of Dhol and 8	s ly
			The second second

Place	. s	sion to which it belongs.		
			miles to the west of	
			Tankara.	
Devaraka		n Kalapakapathaka n Surastra.		22.
Ekalika		-do-	It belonged to Jambuvanara.	22.
Jambuvar	nara	-do-	May be identified with	22, 63.
			Jambuvanara, 9 miles N.E.	
			of Navanagar, and at a dis-	UNITED S
			tance of less than 4 miles	
Kakkapac	ira	-do - The headque	from Jambura river.	22,63
Kikatapı	ıtra	-do-	May be identified with	5, 54.
			Kotariya, which is at a dis	
			tance of less than 8 miles	
			to the north of Padana.	
Loharapa	adraka	-do-	To the south of Jambuvanara	. 22.
Natyotal	sa	-do-	It belonged to Jambuvanara.	22.
Pahamav	atika	-do-	It is mentioned that it was	61,64.
			situated in Katakshytaka wh	ich
			seems to be a wrong reading	for
			Kalapaka-Pathaka. It may be	
			modern Bamgandi which is in	the
			vicinity of Devali.	

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Nome of the	Mormitonial Divi	Tantification and Domanica	Defense
Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	mererence
Pattanaka	In Kalapaka in	It lay to the N.W.of Sarka-	54.
	Surastra.	rapadraka of the grant.	
Puranaka	-do-	-	63,72.
Sarkarpadrak	- do-		63
Varahammanika	-do-	The phrase "Surastrakashta	6 7
		Kalakshyodaka prabodiha"	
		seems to be a wrong reading	
		for "Surastresur Kalapaka	
		Pathaka."	
Kasatrad or	In Kasatrada Patha-	It is on the Sabarmati	44.
Kasadraha	ka in Khetaka in	river, approximately 12	
	Suraștra.	miles away from Ahmedabad,	
		and 15 miles from Kheda.	
Rokskasaka	In Kasadraha in	It may be identified with	67.
	Khetaka	Radhu a village 7 miles	
		S.W. of Kheda, and 14 miles	
		from Kasaudra.	
Bhattakapadra	In Kaundinyapura	It is likely that Bhantia	27,31.
	in Surastra.	itself may have been the	
		ancient site of Bhattaka as	
		seems to be suggested by the	е
		philological affinity betwe	en
		the two names.	10 1

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference Place sion to which it belongs. Khetaka In Khetaka-Visaya The headquarters of the 30, 45. in Surastra. Visaya. It is identified with Kheda the headquarters of the Kaira district. It is 6 miles south-west of Sihamunijja In Kolamba Identified with Sihunj 64. Vadelasom--do- (which It lay to the west of Siha- 64. alika seems to be a muhjja which is identified natural region) with Sihunj or Sunj, a place 7 miles towards the east of Mehmedabad. Vaddasomalika has been identified with Vantavali. The donce of the grant resided very near to this village. It was in the south of Vadda 64. Visvapalli In Kolamba somalika and may be identified with Vansol, 3 miles southeast of Vantavali. Probably the same as a place 55. Hastikapallika In Konaka-pathaka in Khetaka in named Hathnoli which is 4 Surastra. miles to the north of Kuna.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
	Konakapathaka in Khetaka in Surastra.	The headquarters of this pathaka may have been Kuna which lies 6 miles to the N.E. of Mahmedabad and 2 miles to the south of Gh6da sara. It is 15 miles N.E. of Kheda.	
K <u>h</u> odasthalaka	In Lunapadraka in Surastra.		69, 80.
Lunapadraka	-do-	Present Lunavada	69, 80.
Konatepadraka	In Madasarasthali in Surastra.	In the vicinity of Madsar	67, 77.
Madasara	-do-	It was difficult.	69, 77.
Suptavasadi	-do-	It lay to the north of Madsor.	69, 77.
Agastika	In Málaváka	Donee's residence - identi- fied with Agesthi, 4 miles north of Nogava.	
Chand ra j utraka	-do-	The Donee resided near Noga The place has been identifi with Chandodia, 2 miles sou of Nogava.	ed

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Dasapura	In Walavaka	It was an important town 41, 59. in this region, and is identified with Mandasor, a place to the west of Ujjain.
Devakulojataka	-do-	It has been identified with Devatkhadi lying in the vici- nity of Chandodia (another suggestion for the identi- fication of the place as Di- land 4 miles S.W. of Dhamer is not correct as it is fur- ther away from Nogawa; Ajesthi and Ayana then Devatkhadi.
Dhammana- haddika	-do-	Identified with Dhammod (an- other suggestion for the iden- tification of this place as Dhammar 11 miles S.E. of Mand- sor does not seem to be correct.
Navagrama	-do-	Identified with Nogava 54, 59.
Pulindaka	-do-	It was to the north of Nava- grama. Identified with Pal- duna, 2 miles N.W. of Varoda.

18, 20.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference Place sion to which it belongs. 44 Ujjaini In Malava (was to Capital of Malavaka. the east of Valabhi Chinchanaka In Mandali in Situated to the South of 31, 43. Surastra. Lustua which is identified with Lusdi near Mandal. It is possible that this village was the same as the present Chinjhka which is 2 miles to the south of Lusdi. Mandali In Mandalidranga Dranga division was possibly 20,48. in Surastra. a large town or a city including its suburbs. About 3 miles to the west of the village Lusdi there is a place named Mandal which possibly represent Mandali, the headquarters of the Sthali. This village may be identi- 40,48. In Mandali in Danduraputra Surastra. fied with Danteradi at a distance of 6 miles to the Mandal.

Sangamanaka

-do-

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Deyapalli	In Nagavaka in Khetaka in Surastra.	May be identified with 72. Devalaj a place which is situated to the west of Sojitra, a railway station about two to three miles north of Rohanaj.
Duhuduhu	In Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surastra.	To its east lay Guddapall, 64, 64. while yet another village Jainnapalli lay to the south. This place may be identified with mk Dehera.
Ganduka	-do-	To be identified with Gada, 72 a village near Devalaj.
Guddapalli	-do-	The same as Gudali. It is 63 about 2½ miles N.W. of Dehera, and a village Juni is about 3 miles to the south of the latter.
Jorinnapalli	-āo-	Mby be identified with Juni 4.
Kavitthaviká	-do-	To be identified with Katavi, 72 a village near Devalaj.

Place

sion to which it belongs.

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Nagaraka

Nagarakapathaka in Khetaka

The headquarters of the Nagaraka pathaka, have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of 2 miles to the north of Cambay. It is 25 miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southern most pathaka of Khetaka ahara.

Rohiniyarja -doIt is to the south of Deya- 72 palli and may be identified with the above-mentioned Rohanj, 2 miles away from Nara - a station of the Petlad-Cambay Railway line.

Tapasa Pallika -dcThe headquarters of the Naga- 63 raka pathaka have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of 2 miles to the north of Cambay. It is 25 miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southern most pathaka of Khetaka ahara.

	Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
	Niggudaka	In Ghāsaraka Patha- ka in Surāstra.	It may be identified with a village called Nagadia which is 10 miles north-	36, 44.
	Devaraksita	In Nimbakupasthali in Surastra.	east of Kishod.	26
	Dipanaka	In Petha in Surastra.		20
	Dronapadraka	In Punyanakasthali in Surastra.		33
	Indranipadraka	In Punganaka in Surastra.		33, 40.
1	Kakkinjja	-do-		33, 40.
	Uchchhapadraka	-do-		33, 40.
e)	Nagadinnaka	In Rohanaka in Surastra.		86
	Rohanaka	In Rohanaka Patha- ka in Surastra.	It may be identified either with Rohani, 21 miles south	49.
			of Dholka, and 11 miles N.W	•
			of Cambay or with the village	ge
			Rohisala, which is 16 miles	
			S.E. of Botal and less than	
			10 miles from Vala. Howeve:	
			as the grant was made to the	

Name of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Identification and Remarks Reference

Vihara in Valabhi itself the latter identification appears to be more appropriate as it was nearer to the dense's place.

Desurakshitijja. In Samhapallita in Khetaka in Surāstra. May be identified with Desar, 63. 8 miles S.E. of Thasara and 17 miles from Alima, the findspot of the grant.

Samhapallika in Khetaka in Surastra. This seems to have been the 63.

eastern most Pathaka of Khetaka
and probably was adjoined the
Suryapura visaya. Sihodas
which is 5 miles away to the
south of Desar possibly
represented Simhapullika.

Hastihradaka In Siravataka sthali.

It was the headquarters of this sthali.

45,53.

Daksinapathaka In Sivabhagapura Vişaya.

This stands for the souther district of the Sivathagapura visaya. It appears that the region south of Pavagadha ranging upto the northern boundary of Sangrama Khetaka

Identification and Remarks Reference Name of the Territorial Division to which it Place. belongs. visaya was included in it. Probably the same as Paderi 66. In Sivabhagapura Patapadra Visaya. a village 8 miles south of Sivabhagapur. The Visaya lay to the N.E. Sivabhagapura -doof the Bharukachchha visaya. The headquarters Sivabhagapura have been identified with Sivarajapura, 16 miles S.E. of Halol. Kantarapura-Sodasavisaya grama. 67, 76. In Sopakendra Man-Kasakagrama dalisthali in Surastra. It was the headquarters of 87 In Suryapura Visa-Suryapura ya. (It included the Visaga. It can be identi-Gothara in the South and Lunavada fied, with Surdi, a village State in the South).4 miles to the east of Shaleraa station between Godra and Lunavada. It is 11 miles away from Jodra and Lunavada.

Name of the Place.

Territorial Division to which it belongs. Identification and Remarks Reference

Vahuvataka

In Suryapura Visaya. On the bank of the river 87

Vappoika. It is tentatively identified with Bhaliawad in the Dobad Taluka. It is also possible that the place is now called Vaula, a village 14 miles to the west of Lunawada. The Veri river flows by its side.

Mahishabali

In Uppalaheta
Pathaka in Khetaka
ahara in Surastra

The correct reading seems to

Mahishabali and not Mahilabali. The place mapbe identified with the present Mahisa,

3 miles north of Alina, the
findspot of the grant.

Uppalaheta

In Uppala Pathaka

It was the headquarters of 88
the Pathaka and may be identified with Upleta in the Thasara
Taluka. The village is 5 miles
to the S.E. of Thasara, 35 miles
from Kheda and 13 miles from
Alina, the findspot of the grant.
The Uppaleheta pathaka was
situated in the west of the above
mentioned Samipallika pathaka.

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bilvakha k ha	In Valvakhabha in Surāstra.	Probably near the Jhari- sthali, as it is mentioned along with it. It may be the place called Bilvakha 32 miles west of Jhar.	
Vardhamana	In Vardhamana bhūkti in Suraștra.	Identified with Vadhavana	75, 76.
Bhondanaka	In Valanagara		34
Vatanagara	In Vatanagara Sthali	Probably to be identified with modern Vadadar 10 mile to the north of Vanthali.	39 es
Bahumula	In Vatapalli in Surastra.		19, 48.
Bhumida	-do-	Modern Joraksa was to the south-west of Mahuva.	56
Damaripathaka	do		26
Deņḍāsa	-do-	Lay to the south of Lusha and to the west of Mahava the present village bearing the same mame.	75
Ghoras	In Valapalli in Surastra.	It lay 9 miles to the N.W. of Mahuva.	56

Name of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Ludha

In Valapalli in Surastra.

The name of the Sthali can- 56 not be deciphered properly, but the situation of the villages as described in the grant shows that what was tentatively read as 'Jo.. satyas' must be Vatapallika, to the west of Mahuva. It may be the same village now known as Ludha.

Niguda

-do-

36

Valapullika In Vatapalli in Surastra.

This sthali comprised the 19, 39 the triangular tract between Goras, Lusdi and Katpur in the Mahuva district of the Bhavanagar state. This is indicated by the identity of some village in this sthali. The place may be identified with Vadla, at a distance of 2 miles to north-east.

Naddiya

In ----pathaka in Khetaka.

May be identified with Nandej 29. half a mile distance from Barjadi.

Mame of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Identification and Remarks Reference

Akrolaka

---- in Surastra

Donee's residence. It may 12 be Aklera which is at a distance of about 20 miles from Palitana, the findspot of the grant.

Antaratra

In Surastra.

It may possibly be taken as 23 a natural region as indicated by its name which means a region between two rivers. It may have been near Maliya, the findspot of the grant.

Kaundinyapura In Surastra. Qit was a large unit which was required to be divided into uttara-pathaka and Daksinapathaka).

It is identified with Kundi- 31 napura the place of residence of king Bhishmaka, father of Rukmini. It is about a mile to the west of modern Kuliana, 32 miles west of Junagadha and 25 miles to the east of Porbandar. It is on the bank of the river Bhadera.

Valabhi

In Surastra

It was the capital of the 13,14,35, 40. Maitraka kings.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Vatagrama	In Surastra	14, 20.
Agustoka	Gara State State State	It was in the vicinity of 51, 52. Ayavaka. May be identified with Agethi, 4 miles north of Nogava.
Anjanaka	In Mālava	The Donee's residence, iden- 51-52. tified with Aiyana, 10 miles north of Nogava.
Akotaka		Present Akadia near Dhasa, 12 20 miles to the west of Vala.
Akskasaraka	-	Near Jyosthanaka, Hariyanaka 5,6,9.
Amalakataka		Identified with Amol near 78. Jambusara.
Ambrelika		The grant refers to a pathaka 24 leading to Amrdika. It may be the same as Amreli of the
Anandapura		present day. Identified with the present 15,16,30 Vadnagar. 78.

78.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it belongs. Antarapallika This village was granted 21,37,85. together with another village named Kandhajja to the same donee who resided at Liptikhanda. The present Antroli is probably the village the name of which may be a derivation of Antarapallika. But as there is no village bearing a name resembling Dinnaputra near it confirmation relating to its identification is not possible. It has been identified with Antika Anti 2 miles S.E. of the Flagstation Bhoj between Baroda and Jambusara. In the vicinity of Agustika, 51,52. Aya Vaka may be identified with Aigan,

Batapallika

Bhadronuka

10 miles north of Nogava.

Lay to the west of Antika

be identified.

Was in the vicinity of Opleta 45

near Dhank. Bhadrenaka cannot

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Reference
Bhadraraka		To the S.W. of Antika. It is 78 identified with Bhadara, a village 2 miles towards the S.W. of Anti.
Bhadraputtana		Four grants were issued from 26,28, 30,31, the military camp.at this 33.
		and Talaja. It may be identified with Bhabod, 4 miles north-east of Mahuva and 20 miles from Talaja.
Bhattanaka		It may be the same as the vill- 34 age Bhotad, the only village near the above mentioned Udavi.
Bhogaditya	Tel.	It was to the east of Chincha- 51 vadanaka near Lusha.
Bhramarakulya		Identified with Bhamar near 24 Vajpada station on the Mahuva branch.
Bramhapara		This place lay far from 20,24. Vajjadi near Dongar.
Bramilanaka		To the east of Velapadra. The 45 name of the place cannot eludes us.

	Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Reference	e
	Chhadakapadraka	1	It lies 9 miles away from the 39 Shedevadar, which may have been the same as Chhedakapadraka.	
	Chossari	-	May be identified with Chosar, 20 3 miles from Barijadi.	
	Chetiánaka		May be identified with Chotika, 37,43. the terminus of the Thaw-Chotika	
			branch.	
To the same	Dahaka		May be identified with Dhaka, 13 miles S.W. of Lunavada.	
	Dasara		May be village 30 miles far 65 from Kasara.	
	Dasanaka		On the Delta of the Madhumati 65,74 river.	
	Devalavadra		May be Melondaderoha 48	
	Deyathaligrama		63,73	
	Dhananda		It may be identified with Dha- 69,78 noda which is about 4 miles	
	A 10		N.E. of Karjan.	
	Dinnaka		In the vicinity of Opleta near 39	
			Dhanak. It may probably be the same	
			as the present Daduka, 11 miles	
			S.E. Oplet.	

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it Place belongs. Near a village Antarapullika. 85. Dinnaputra 74 The donee migrated from the Dvipa place and settled near Mahuva. It is the same as Div, an island in the south of Kathiawad which is in the possession of the Portuguese. Traditionally it was known to be a peninsula but at present it has turned into an island as a result of a sudden innndation. Four Brahmanas are mentioned as 51,52,56. Gahvara emigrants from this place. The name of this ancient city 55,71,72, Girinagar is traceable in Girnar, the name of the hill near Junagadha in Sorath. From the Mauryan (322 B.C.) period down to the Gupta rule in Surastra (468 A.D.) the place was

Surastra.

Giriviligrama

the metropolis of the province of

Dviwedi

Identification and Remarks Reference

	belongs.	
Godrahaka		A place of encampment. May be 77
		Godhra the capital of Pancha-
		mahal district. The sufix 'ka'
		is dropped. From the name of the
		place it appears that there was
		a 'Lake for Cows' near it. Even
		in the present Godhra a large tank
		exists.
Gomutrika		The donee emigrated from this 70
		place and settled at Valabhi.
Gopparavataka		
Jambusara		At present this place is known 59.
		by the same name, the headquar- 50.
		ters of Jambusara Taluka of the
		Broach district.
Jiruka	On our car	May be identified with the villa- 98
		ge Jiyava - Dvivedi.
Josalyasa		66.
Jyotipadra		Probably the same as the present 24.
		Jodia near Jamkhambhalia.
Kalasamako		May be the place now known as 37, 43.
		Katasara.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Place sion to which it Name of the Place

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

It was near Vasukiya river Kanakasomaka It was near Vansalika-river Karnascmagrama -It lay not very far from Khet- 63 Kasara aka and be identified with a village of the same name, lying 5 miles north-west of Petlad a junction between Anand and Cambay. It may be identified with Kun- 88 Khandhajja dhaj, 10 miles S.E. of Dhank and 6 miles S.W. of Uplet. It must have been in the vici- 13 Khuddavediya nity of Anumanjari near Amreli. This was near Madasara on the 77 Koratapadraka coastal line, and be identified with a place named Kotada which is 13 miles to the east of Mahuva. A vihara was situated at this 69, 76. Kukkuranaka place. It was near Vala (Duddavihara) and may be identified with Karkolia, about 2 miles to the S.W. of Sihor, and 13 miles from Vala.

Name of the Place.	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference
Lesrudka		May be Lusada, a station on	4, 29.
		Jamanagar state railway line.	
Liptikhanda	4-1	It was situated near Dhank.	85, 86.
		The phonetic resemblance of	
		Lipti with this place name	
		itself suggests the identity.	*
Meghāvana		It was near Lusha and Madasa.	66, 68.
		It may be Meghavedar, 3 miles	1000
		south-west of Sihor.	1
Mahichhaka		It lay near Kapadavanj	66.
Mularamapataka		To the N.E. of Desanaka	74
Nandiarkagrams			79
Neradehha	-	May be identified with Neroli	76
Pichchhipalli		Near Valabhi. It may be iden-	67
		tified with Pachhegam, a place	
	The state of the	3 miles to the N.W. of Vala.	
Pippalarunkhal	Li	On the western border of	13
		Anumanji-sthali. It is possi-	
		ble that this place was the	
		same as Pipalia, about 14 mile	8
		south-west of Amreli.	
Pulindaka	-	Not very far frem Khetaka and	59, 93.
		Sivabhagapura. It may be	

Name of the Place.	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference
	ever dend dend dend dend dend den den den de	identified with Pandu, 7 miles north-west of Kalad.	
Purnikala		Two grants were issued from this place.	71,73,81.
Fushamitra		Probably in the vicinity of Chotila.	43
Pushyasamba- pura		The donee emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhi.	64, 77.
Sampadra- vitaka		In the vicinity of Pippalarun-khari.	70.
Sankaravataka		It lay not far from present- day Madkana (incidental refer- ence is made to this place in the Valabhi grants.)	2
Saraswati- vatika		The village is mentioned along with another village Sami-hambara.	15
Sargapuri		It was near Navalakhi (near Vanthali).	34
Savanadika		The grant was issued from a military camp at this place. It may be identified with Savaikot, a place near the fin	
		spot of the grant. It is 9 mi	les

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference.
		to the north of Kamlej.	electi delece attico empo distri attino dilito delegio delle electro an
Simhapura		Identified with Sihor, 12 miles from Vala. It was the	3, 8, 63. 7, 17.
		original capital of the Gho-	
		hilots before Bhavanagar was founded.	
Sirisimninika		It lay near Kapadvanja.	52, 58.
Sivatratijja g ≖ grama	€	May be the same as modern Visali near Lusdi which is 7 miles to the N.E. of Port-	74
Sradhika		Albert Victor. At a distance of one mile to the east of Anti there is a village named Sadhi which may	78
		be identified with Sradhika. It is 7½ miles away from the findspot of the plate Anastu.	
Suryadesa		May be identified with Surjiali (which may have been anoth name for Surya-palli). The pl	ner
		is at a distance of 2 miles to Timbadi, the findspot.	

Identification and Remarks Reference

	belon:	gs.		taka managay dilika apay aray daya ayay asan biliy ajika
	Tabhagrama		Identified with Timba.	Dvi
	Thanaka		This place was on the Papri-	31, 36.
			mati river and has been iden-	
			tified with Than, a station on	
•			the Morbi Railway.	13 17 18
•	Tramadia		Near Anumanji in Amreli. It	52, 44.
			may be the same as Travada,	
			10 miles S.W. of Amreli.	10 130
	Uisingha		It was near the village	86
			Kundhaj.	TA THE
-	Udrapadraka			39
	Udumbara		Four Brahmanas are mentioned	51,52,56.
			as emigrants from this place.	
	Unnatta		Near Veraval in the vicinity	23
			of Dombhigrama or Maliya. It	-
			may be identified with Una nea	r
			Dilonadar.	THE BALL
	Uttapalaka		It was near Bhattanaka, and it	34
			may be identified with Udavi	W. Committee
1			near Kamlej which is 7 miles f	rom
	The state of the s		Bhavanagar and 13 miles from V	ala.

Territorial Division to which it

Name of the Place.

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it Place. belongs. Vatapadraka The findspot of the plate men- 9, 39. tioning this village is Dhank, and the grant was made to a temple which may have been in the present Vedla near Dhank. Valaprajyaka This village was, as the grant 14. records near a well-known place the name of which cannot be deciphered. Vanditapalli It was a place from where a 52, 60. grant was made and it may have been near Nogava. Vansakatta Probably it was situated next 35,71,86. to Talaja the site of Vansakata. The donee migrated from this 85, 86. Varddhamana place which is the same as Vadhavana. It was the capital of the Chapotakas under Dharanivaraha. The town is named after Varaddhamana Suri, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras. Merutunga, the famous Jaina writer resided at this place.

1	Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Re	ference
	Varohataka		It was to the east of Navagrama.	59
	Valapadra		Near Chhadukapadraka in the	39
	201		Hastavapraahara. It may be	
	MAC A LOS		identified with Valavad, 2 miles	
••	and the second		west of Sihor.	
	Vatanumaka		It must have been near Sihor and	71
			Hathab, as it is mentioned along	
	45.3111		with another village in Hathab	
	OF THE STATE OF		while the former place was the	
			donee's residence.	
-	Viraputra		Near Madsar.	30
	Visalapataka		To the west of Dasanaka.	74:

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

RY

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(Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy)

(959)

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PART III

GEOGRAPHY



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES MENTIONED
IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY.

Valabhi, the celebrated capital of the Maitrakas, roughly corresponds to the town of Vala, the present capital of a small state of the same name in Kathiawad. It lies roughly 18 miles to the north-west of Bhavanagar. To the local population Vala is known as Valeh which represents the Praket form of Valabhi.

Though it is now a few miles away from the Bhavanagar creek, Valabhipura was in ancient days an important part in the gulf of Cambay. Its present position is due to the natural physical changes which in course of time have silted up the western portion of the creek. The excavations at Vala have disclosed the old ruins of Valabhi under its layers.

The Maitraka kingdom at the height of its power included the Surastra, on its western boundary; in the east, as attested by both the epigraphical 2 records and the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa, it extended as ar as Ujaini. The northern boundary may be traced to

^{1.} By an ukase recently issued the state authorities have reverted to the original name, so the capital is once more called Valabhipura (from 25th May 1945), while the state itself will continue to be known as the Vala state. cf. "Vala nu Valabhipura"

Jamma bhumi, Monday, 23rd July, 1945.

Valabhi is described in Sanskrit literature, whether Brahmanical, Jaina or Buddhist, as the capital of Surastra. This has been supported by the epigraphical records of the Maitrakas who ruled over this country for about three centuries from the last quarter of the fifth century down to the eighth century A.D. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in narrating his account of this country in the seventh century mentions it as a territory under the sway of king Dhruvapata (cf. Watters, op.cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op.cit., II, p. 266), who is correctly identified with the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II.

^{2.} Gadre, op.cit., p. 659.

^{3.} Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 24.

Anandapura the present Vadanagara, while the southern limit of the kingdom streached at least upto Bharukachchha.2 It is further clear from these records that the region between the Sahya and the Vindhya was included in the Maitraka kingdom. 3 This fact bears testimony to the spread of the Maitraka wway in the south-east to the region beyond the Narmada and Satapuda as far as the Sahyadris. In the north-west Cutch may be included within its boundaries in as much as Hiuen Tsiang described it as an appanage of Malava, 4 which was governed by the Maitraka kings. This is further supported by the fact that some coins of the Maitrakas have been discovered in Cutch, though this is not a conclusive evidence for proving the spread of the Maitraka sway over the region. Thus the Valabhi kingdom from mount Abu in the north to the river Tapti in the south covered a length of about 280 miles, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to its eastern boundary at Avanti measured 480 miles.5

^{1.} Fleet, op.et.loc.cit.

^{2.} This is indicated not only by the military camp of Dharasena IV at the place, but king Siladitya III had actually made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha.

^{3.} Fleet, op.et loc.cit.

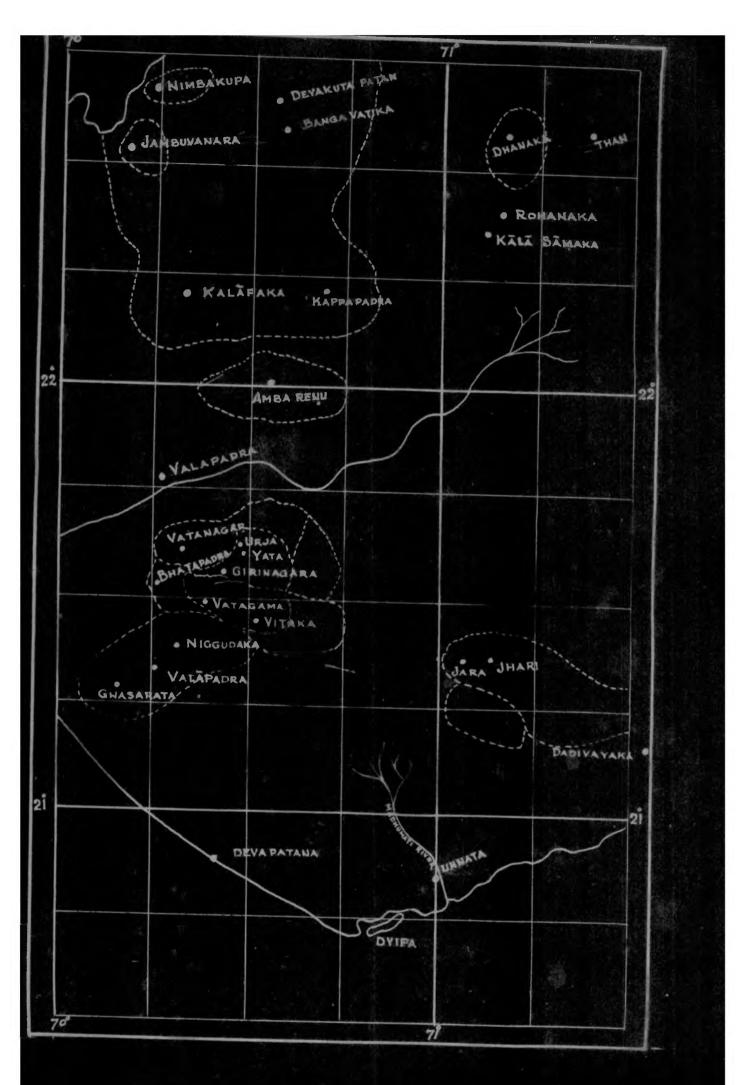
^{4.} Watters, op.cit., II, p. 241.

^{5.} The Valabhi kingdom may roughly be taken to have spread over from 24°.45 N at the southern and again from 75°.45 E at the eastern to 69°E. at the western boundaries. This comes to the length of bout 400 miles from east to west and a breadth of more than 200 miles from north to south.

It was divided into several administrative units. The largest of these waxx was Visayas of which eight are mentioned in the sources now at our command: (1) Surastra, (2) Khetaka, (3) Malawaka, (4) Sivabhagapura, (5) Bharukachchha, (6) Suryapura, (7) Ghoras, and (8) Anandapura.

Each of these Visayas was divided into Aharas or Aharanis, and the Aharas into Pathakas, and these again into Bhukti, Bhumi, Petha, Mandali, Sthali Dranga and Gramas. The following is a list of geographical names that we find in the copper-plate grants:

The usual term used by the Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Maitrakas is Surastra (plural) and not Saurastra.
 Khetaka Ahara extended over an area of 50 miles from north to south as well as from west to east.



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

N.B: The numerals refer to the numerical corder in which the inscriptions are mentioned in the previous chapter on epigraphy.

Name of the Place

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks

Referenc

Ishikaranaka

Ambarenu-Sthali... Dr.Diskalkar has suggested that the name 'Ambaruna'. philogically resembles 'Amrana' which is 20 miles to the north-east of Dhrol. However, it is more likely to have been the same as another place called Ambardi on the Phophal river which is about 14 miles north-west of Virpura (Gondal) being nearer to the findspot of the grant.

Anandapura-Visaya... (It was the northeast part of the kingdom)

Anandapura is the present Vadanagara near Sidhapura.

Annata....

Antaratra in Surastra

Donee resided in this village, probably near Div Una ata distance of 50 miles from Maliya.

Bhumbhusa. Antaratra in Surastra.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Referenc
Dombhi- grama	Antaratrā in Surastra	This may be the same as a village called Dabhodar, 3 miles north-east of	23, 24.
		Veraval.	
moranjija.	-do	Probably modern Moruka, 8 miles north-east of Talaja, a railway-station on Veraval side.	71
			23
	-do		
Vijragrama	-do		23
Anymanji	Anumanji Sthali	This may have been modern	18,52
		Amreli.	
Dambharado		May be identified with Dabha	ala, 6/
		a place 24 miles away from	
		the findspot of the grant	
		viz. Amreli. It is 7 miles	
		south-east of Dhari.	
Pippalarun- khari	-do-		. 13, 18
Samapadra- vataka	-đo-		18
Tranonadi	-do-	Donee's residence.	44
	Aristhijj ka Sthali		44
Ambarenu	Asikānaka in		2.1
A CONTRACTOR	Surastra.		90

Name of the Place

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

35

Asilapallika..

Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khetaka in Surastra

It has been identified with Asmal near Ahmedabad. It is also known as Asapalli which represents the site of the old Karnavati, the city built by the Sclanki king Karana, who reigned in the eleventh century (1064-94 A.D.). It is at a distance of 10 miles from Baryadi.

Bandarijidri

Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khetaka-ahara

This Pathaka was in the northern part of Khetaka. The headquarters Bandarijidri have been identified with Barijadi, a station between Ahmadabad and Memadabad on the B.B. & C. I.Ry. line. It is ten miles away to the north of Khetaka.

35-

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs	Identification and Remarks Reference
Bhadrenika	Baravana- Sthali in Surastra	There was a Sun-temple in 42 this village as recorded in the State of grant.
Goffarana- taka	Baravana in Surastra	49
Sihanaka	-do-	
	Bharukachchha - Visaya	
		Visayas of Southern Guj-
		arat, the others being
		Akrusesuara Vişaya and
		Sangrama-Khetaka Visaya.
	4	The present name of Bha- rukachchha is Broach.
Dharakhetaka	Dharakhetaka -	Its headquarters may be
	Sthali	identified with Dhinuka, a
		village six miles north-
		west of Songadh, a station
		on the Bhavanagar State
		Railway line.
Devabhadri-	-do-	The Sthali including this 28
pallika		village have been near
		Hastavapra as two villages
		from both these divisions
		were denated to a vihara at
		Valabhi simultaneously. It

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
		may be the same as Devali, 6 miles from Vala.	
Vatagrāma	Dipanaka-Pathaka in Valva Khabha- Sthali in Sura- stra.		28
Amadāsputra	Ghasaraka Pathaka in Surastra.	It was situated in the vicinity of Vatadreha.	33
Ghāsaraka	-do-	The headquarters of this Pathaka Ghāsaraka may be identified with Ghāsari, 5 miles wouth-west of Keshad	36
Vatadraka	-do-	Probably the same as the place called Vadādar, 3 miles north-east of Kishod.	38
Vyaghradina- naka	-do-		8-6
Ghrtalaya	Ghrtalaya Bhumi(It formed the eastern division of the Visaya.	The place may be identified with modern Ghutia on the Sutlu river and 8 miles to the north-east of Jambughods	59
Panguluja- llika	-do-	The identification of this place with Patia in the Thasara taluka does not seem to be correct. It may be more	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
		correctly identified with a village Palia in the Sivar-	•
		ajapura Visaya bearing close affinity to the name.	
Vikillisa	Ghorasa Visaya		5.6
Akshasaraka	Aksharaka in Hasta- vapraahara in Surastra.		4,6,7,9
Akkotaka	In Hastavapra in Surastra.	Donee's residence, identi- fied with Akadia near Dhasa,	Lý
		2 miles to the west of Vala.	1390
Amakarakupa	In Hastavapra 11 ahara in Surastra		45
Atinishaka	-do-		2
Bhadrenika	-do-	In the neighbourhood of a village called Samihambara.	1,12,15
Bhallara	-do-	It may be identified with Bhalar, 4 miles south-west	9
		of Talaja about 18 miles	REE
		from Hathab and only one mile	9
		to north of Wilapadar.	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bhattika	In Hastavapra 11 ahara in Surastra	May be the same as present Bhadi, a village at a distance of about 8 miles to the west of Hathab, and 14	Ç2
		miles from Sihor where the donee resided.	
Chhedaka- Padraka	-do-		8
Chutika-grama	Aristhijjka Sthali in Surastra.		27
Dachchanaka	In Hastavapra ahara in Surastra	It is situated to the east of Bhatika.	62
Hariyanaka	In Akskasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāstra.		7,83
Hastavapra	In Hastavapra in Surastra.	It has been identified with Hathab in the Koliyat taluk of Bhavanagar territory. It is about 15 miles south-eas of Bhavanagar, 6 miles to to south of Ghogha, 2 miles to	a t t he
		the south of Koliyak. It is situated at 72°16' E and 70°N on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.	°361

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Refere	enc
Jestanáka	In Akshasaraka in Hastavapra in Surastra.	4,6,7	,9.
Kalahataka	-do-	Identified with Kaliyak 10, 79 near Hathab. Its local variant form is Koliyat or Koliyad which is similar to the name Kalahataka.).
Khetaka Padraka. Kukleata Madkarna	In Hastavapra - do - takas -do-	Its identification with the 2. present village Makharid near Talaja is suggested on phonetical grounds.	日本の一大 一大
Maheshwara- dasenaka	-do-	It has been identified with 28. Mahadevapur, six miles south of Talaja, and about 25 miles south-west of Hathab. This place is 43 miles away from Vala where the receipent Vihara (of the grant) was situated.	
		Hence another Mahadevapura which is near Sihor may be taken for this place. It is 14 miles from Vala and about 21 miles from Hathab.	

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Ref e rence
Nagaraka	In Hastavapra	Donee's residence	10, 11.
Natakaputra	-do-		11,12,15.
Samihambara	-do-	Near find spot of the plate	11,12,15.
		Aiavej, at a distance of 10)
		miles there is a village	
		named Samadhiala which may	
		be identified with	1000
		Samihambara.	
Santaputra	-do-	- I have been	61.
Shankarvataka	-do	Donee's residence.	2.
Simhapura	-do-	Donee's residence. Modern	3,9,87.
		Sihor, a junction of the	
		Bhavanagar State Railway,	
		14 miles S.E. of Valabhi an	d
		21 miles N.W. of Hastavapra	
Tapasiya	-do-		2.
Trisanghamaka	-do-	It has been identified with	1,50,58.
		Tarsamia, 3 miles S.E. of	
		Bhavanagar and about 4 mile	es
		N.E. of Hathab. According	to
		information gathered by Jac	kson
		a temple of Kottara Devi st	ood
		at this place.	

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Vansakatta	In Hastavapra	Donee's residence	71, 86.
Vasukiya	In Akshasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāstra.		9
Velapadra	-do-	Donee's residence. This may	9
		be the present Velamedar, a	
		village at a distance of 2	
		miles from Talaja and about	
V:tapadia Yodhavaka	-do- Donces	20 miles south-west of Hath A Buddhist Vihara was built	ab.
		at this place by Skanda-	
		bhatta.	
Ekalika	In Jambuvanara in Surastra.		22,26.
Jambuvānara	-do-	It seems to be different	21.
		from the village of Jambuva	-
		vanara mentioned in the gra	nt
		No. 26. At a distance of	
		about 2 miles from Palitana	
		the findspot of the grant,	is
		situated a place named Jamb	3/12/2019
		valia which may be identifi	ed
		with this village.	
Natyotaka	-do-		22.

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bhramara- kulya	In Jharisthali in Surastra	Near Velapadraka of the grants. It may be identi-fied with Bhamar, one mile N.W. of Uijpadi, a station on the side of Mahuva along Bhavanagar State Railway line.	
Dadhikripaka	-đo-	May be identified with the village of Dadhia, 4 miles to the east of Bhamar.	24.
Jhar	-do-	The headquarters of the Jharisthali may bave been Jhar which is also the find spot of the grant.	20. i-
Velápadraka	-do-	May be the same as Velivada in Kathiawad. It was to the west of Dadhikupaka as recorded by the grant.	
Kadambapadra	In Kadambapadra Sthali in Surastra	It was the headquarters of of the sthali.	22, 26.
Chitraka- șthalya	-do-		22, 26.

Name of the Place.	Tetritorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Kalapaka- pathaka	In Kadambapadra sthali in Surastra.	The headquarters of this Pathaka have been identified with Kalawad a village with	54
		a population of 2,500. It is 26 miles S.E. of Navanaga	ar.
Asvaniputra	In Kalapakapathaka in Surastra.		54
Bhadasaka	-do-	A chain of hills dandaka called Baratika is recorded in the grant as situated at the north of Bhadrenika.	eixxi 47
Bhasant	-do-	Identified with Bhesan, 16 miles east of Junagadha.	46.
Bhattaranaka	-do-	It lays to the S.W. of Pahmavatika.	22
Dabhaka	do		45.
Devakula		It lay to the west of Pah- mavatika, and may be identi- fied with Devali which is a common name for a number of villages in Kathiawad. Thi particular place was probab the present Devalia, 14 mil to the east of Dhol and 8	s ly
			The second second

Place.	sion to which it belongs.		
		miles to the west of	
		Tankara.	
DevaraksMita	In Kalapakapathaka in Surastra.		22.
Ekalika	-do-	It belonged to Jambuvanara.	22.
Jambuvanara	-do-	May be identified with	22, 63.
		Jambuvanara, 9 miles N.E.	
		of Navanagar, and at a dis-	
		tance of less than 4 miles	
Kakkapadra	- do - The headque -do-	from Jambura river.	22,63
Kikataputra	-do-	May be identified with	5, 54.
		Kotariya, which is at a dis	
		tance of less than 8 miles	
	THE PARTY	to the north of Padana.	
Loharapadraka	-do-	To the south of Jambuvanara	. 22.
Natyotaka	-do-	It belonged to Jambuvanara.	22.
Pahamavatika	-do-	It is mentioned that it was	61,64.
		situated in Katakshytaka wh	ich
		seems to be a wrong reading	for
		Kalapaka-Pathaka. It may be	
		modern Bamgandi which is in	the
		vicinity of Devali.	

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Nome of the	Mormitonial Divi	Tantification and Domanica	Defense
Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	mererence
Pattanaka	In Kalapaka in	It lay to the N.W.of Sarka-	54.
	Surastra.	rapadraka of the grant.	
Puranaka	-do-	-	63,72.
Sarkarpadrak	- do-		63
Varahammanika	-do-	The phrase "Surastrakashta	6 7
		Kalakshyodaka prabodiha"	
		seems to be a wrong reading	
		for "Surastresur Kalapaka	
		Pathaka."	
Kasatrad or	In Kasatrada Patha-	It is on the Sabarmati	44.
Kasadraha	ka in Khetaka in	river, approximately 12	
	Suraștra.	miles away from Ahmedabad,	
		and 15 miles from Kheda.	
Rokskasaka	In Kasadraha in	It may be identified with	67.
	Khetaka	Radhu a village 7 miles	
		S.W. of Kheda, and 14 miles	
		from Kasaudra.	
Bhattakapadra	In Kaundinyapura	It is likely that Bhantia	27,31.
	in Surastra.	itself may have been the	
		ancient site of Bhattaka as	
		seems to be suggested by the	е
		philological affinity betwe	en
		the two names.	10 1

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference Place sion to which it belongs. Khetaka In Khetaka-Visaya The headquarters of the 30, 45. in Surastra. Visaya. It is identified with Kheda the headquarters of the Kaira district. It is 6 miles south-west of Sihamunijja In Kolamba Identified with Sihunj 64. Vadelasom--do- (which It lay to the west of Siha- 64. alika seems to be a muhjja which is identified natural region) with Sihunj or Sunj, a place 7 miles towards the east of Mehmedabad. Vaddasomalika has been identified with Vantavali. The donce of the grant resided very near to this village. It was in the south of Vadda 64. Visvapalli In Kolamba somalika and may be identified with Vansol, 3 miles southeast of Vantavali. Probably the same as a place 55. Hastikapallika In Konaka-pathaka in Khetaka in named Hathnoli which is 4 Surastra. miles to the north of Kuna.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
	Konakapathaka in Khetaka in Surastra.	The headquarters of this pathaka may have been Kuna which lies 6 miles to the N.E. of Mahmedabad and 2 miles to the south of Gh6da sara. It is 15 miles N.E. of Kheda.	
K <u>h</u> odasthalaka	In Lunapadraka in Surastra.		69, 80.
Lunapadraka	-do-	Present Lunavada	69, 80.
Konatepadraka	In Madasarasthali in Surastra.	In the vicinity of Madsar	67, 77.
Madasara	-do-	It was difficult.	69, 77.
Suptavasadi	-do-	It lay to the north of Madsor.	69, 77.
Agastika	In Málaváka	Donee's residence - identi- fied with Agesthi, 4 miles north of Nogava.	
Chand ra j utraka	-do-	The Donee resided near Noga The place has been identifi with Chandodia, 2 miles sou of Nogava.	ed

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Dasapura	In Walavaka	It was an important town 41, 59. in this region, and is identified with Mandasor, a place to the west of Ujjain.
Devakulojataka	-do-	It has been identified with Devatkhadi lying in the vici- nity of Chandodia (another suggestion for the identi- fication of the place as Di- land 4 miles S.W. of Dhamer is not correct as it is fur- ther away from Nogawa; Ajesthi and Ayana then Devatkhadi.
Dhammana- haddika	-do-	Identified with Dhammod (an- other suggestion for the iden- tification of this place as Dhammar 11 miles S.E. of Mand- sor does not seem to be correct.
Navagrama	-do-	Identified with Nogava 54, 59.
Pulindaka	-do-	It was to the north of Nava- grama. Identified with Pal- duna, 2 miles N.W. of Varoda.

18, 20.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference Place sion to which it belongs. 44 Ujjaini In Malava (was to Capital of Malavaka. the east of Valabhi Chinchanaka In Mandali in Situated to the South of 31, 43. Surastra. Lustua which is identified with Lusdi near Mandal. It is possible that this village was the same as the present Chinjhka which is 2 miles to the south of Lusdi. Mandali In Mandalidranga Dranga division was possibly 20,48. in Surastra. a large town or a city including its suburbs. About 3 miles to the west of the village Lusdi there is a place named Mandal which possibly represent Mandali, the headquarters of the Sthali. This village may be identi- 40,48. In Mandali in Danduraputra Surastra. fied with Danteradi at a distance of 6 miles to the Mandal.

Sangamanaka

-do-

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Deyapalli	In Nagavaka in Khetaka in Surastra.	May be identified with 72. Devalaj a place which is situated to the west of Sojitra, a railway station about two to three miles north of Rohanaj.
Duhuduhu	In Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surastra.	To its east lay Guddapall, 64, 64. while yet another village Jainnapalli lay to the south. This place may be identified with mk Dehera.
Ganduka	-do-	To be identified with Gada, 72 a village near Devalaj.
Guddapalli	-do-	The same as Gudali. It is 63 about 2½ miles N.W. of Dehera, and a village Juni is about 3 miles to the south of the latter.
Jorinnapalli	-āo-	Mby be identified with Juni 4.
Kavitthaviká	-do-	To be identified with Katavi, 72 a village near Devalaj.

Place

sion to which it belongs.

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Nagaraka

Nagarakapathaka in Khetaka

The headquarters of the Nagaraka pathaka, have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of 2 miles to the north of Cambay. It is 25 miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southern most pathaka of Khetaka ahara.

Rohiniyarja -doIt is to the south of Deya- 72 palli and may be identified with the above-mentioned Rohanj, 2 miles away from Nara - a station of the Petlad-Cambay Railway line.

Tapasa Pallika -dcThe headquarters of the Naga- 63 raka pathaka have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of 2 miles to the north of Cambay. It is 25 miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southern most pathaka of Khetaka ahara.

	Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
	Niggudaka	In Ghāsaraka Patha- ka in Surāstra.	It may be identified with a village called Nagadia which is 10 miles north-	36, 44.
	Devaraksita	In Nimbakupasthali in Surastra.	east of Kishod.	26
	Dipanaka	In Petha in Surastra.		20
	Dronapadraka	In Punyanakasthali in Surastra.		33
	Indranipadraka	In Punganaka in Surastra.		33, 40.
1	Kakkinjja	-do-		33, 40.
	Uchchhapadraka	-do-		33, 40.
e)	Nagadinnaka	In Rohanaka in Surastra.		86
	Rohanaka	In Rohanaka Patha- ka in Surastra.	It may be identified either with Rohani, 21 miles south	49.
			of Dholka, and 11 miles N.W	•
			of Cambay or with the village	ge
			Rohisala, which is 16 miles	
			S.E. of Botal and less than	
			10 miles from Vala. Howeve:	
			as the grant was made to the	

Name of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Identification and Remarks Reference

Vihara in Valabhi itself the latter identification appears to be more appropriate as it was nearer to the dense's place.

Desurakshitijja. In Samhapallita in Khetaka in Surāstra. May be identified with Desar, 63. 8 miles S.E. of Thasara and 17 miles from Alima, the findspot of the grant.

Samhapallika in Khetaka in Surastra. This seems to have been the 63.

eastern most Pathaka of Khetaka
and probably was adjoined the
Suryapura visaya. Sihodas
which is 5 miles away to the
south of Desar possibly
represented Simhapullika.

Hastihradaka In Siravataka sthali.

It was the headquarters of this sthali.

45,53.

Daksinapathaka In Sivabhagapura Vişaya.

This stands for the souther district of the Sivathagapura visaya. It appears that the region south of Pavagadha ranging upto the northern boundary of Sangrama Khetaka

Identification and Remarks Reference Name of the Territorial Division to which it Place. belongs. visaya was included in it. Probably the same as Paderi 66. In Sivabhagapura Patapadra Visaya. a village 8 miles south of Sivabhagapur. The Visaya lay to the N.E. Sivabhagapura -doof the Bharukachchha visaya. The headquarters Sivabhagapura have been identified with Sivarajapura, 16 miles S.E. of Halol. Kantarapura-Sodasavisaya grama. 67, 76. In Sopakendra Man-Kasakagrama dalisthali in Surastra. It was the headquarters of 87 In Suryapura Visa-Suryapura ya. (It included the Visaga. It can be identi-Gothara in the South and Lunavada fied, with Surdi, a village State in the South).4 miles to the east of Shaleraa station between Godra and Lunavada. It is 11 miles away from Jodra and Lunavada.

Name of the Place.

Territorial Division to which it belongs. Identification and Remarks Reference

Vahuvataka

In Suryapura Visaya. On the bank of the river 87

Vappoika. It is tentatively identified with Bhaliawad in the Dobad Taluka. It is also possible that the place is now called Vaula, a village 14 miles to the west of Lunawada. The Veri river flows by its side.

Mahishabali

In Uppalaheta
Pathaka in Khetaka
ahara in Surastra

The correct reading seems to

Mahishabali and not Mahilabali. The place mapbe identified with the present Mahisa,

3 miles north of Alina, the
findspot of the grant.

Uppalaheta

In Uppala Pathaka

It was the headquarters of 88
the Pathaka and may be identified with Upleta in the Thasara
Taluka. The village is 5 miles
to the S.E. of Thasara, 35 miles
from Kheda and 13 miles from
Alina, the findspot of the grant.
The Uppaleheta pathaka was
situated in the west of the above
mentioned Samipallika pathaka.

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks	Reference
Bilvakha k ha	In Valvakhabha in Surāstra.	Probably near the Jhari- sthali, as it is mentioned along with it. It may be the place called Bilvakha 32 miles west of Jhar.	
Vardhamana	In Vardhamana bhūkti in Suraștra.	Identified with Vadhavana	75, 76.
Bhondanaka	In Valanagara		34
Vatanagara	In Vatanagara Sthali	Probably to be identified with modern Vadadar 10 mile to the north of Vanthali.	39 es
Bahumula	In Vatapalli in Surastra.		19, 48.
Bhumida	-do-	Modern Joraksa was to the south-west of Mahuva.	56
Damaripathaka	do		26
Deņḍāsa	-do-	Lay to the south of Lusha and to the west of Mahava the present village bearing the same mame.	75
Ghoras	In Valapalli in Surastra.	It lay 9 miles to the N.W. of Mahuva.	56

Name of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

Ludha

In Valapalli in Surastra.

The name of the Sthali can- 56 not be deciphered properly, but the situation of the villages as described in the grant shows that what was tentatively read as 'Jo.. satyas' must be Vatapallika, to the west of Mahuva. It may be the same village now known as Ludha.

Niguda

-do-

36

Valapullika In Vatapalli in Surastra.

This sthali comprised the 19, 39 the triangular tract between Goras, Lusdi and Katpur in the Mahuva district of the Bhavanagar state. This is indicated by the identity of some village in this sthali. The place may be identified with Vadla, at a distance of 2 miles to north-east.

Naddiya

In ----pathaka in Khetaka.

May be identified with Nandej 29. half a mile distance from Barjadi.

Mame of the Place

Territorial Division to which it belongs.

Identification and Remarks Reference

Akrolaka

---- in Surastra

Donee's residence. It may 12 be Aklera which is at a distance of about 20 miles from Palitana, the findspot of the grant.

Antaratra

In Surastra.

It may possibly be taken as 23 a natural region as indicated by its name which means a region between two rivers. It may have been near Maliya, the findspot of the grant.

Kaundinyapura In Surastra. Qit was a large unit which was required to be divided into uttara-pathaka and Daksinapathaka).

It is identified with Kundi- 31 napura the place of residence of king Bhishmaka, father of Rukmini. It is about a mile to the west of modern Kuliana, 32 miles west of Junagadha and 25 miles to the east of Porbandar. It is on the bank of the river Bhadera.

Valabhi

In Surastra

It was the capital of the 13,14,35, 40. Maitraka kings.

Name of the Place	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	Identification and Remarks Reference
Vatagrama	In Surastra	14, 20.
Agustoka	Gara State State State	It was in the vicinity of 51, 52. Ayavaka. May be identified with Agethi, 4 miles north of Nogava.
Anjanaka	In Mālava	The Donee's residence, iden- 51-52. tified with Aiyana, 10 miles north of Nogava.
Akotaka		Present Akadia near Dhasa, 12 20 miles to the west of Vala.
Akskasaraka	-	Near Jyosthanaka, Hariyanaka 5,6,9.
Amalakataka		Identified with Amol near 78. Jambusara.
Ambrelika		The grant refers to a pathaka 24 leading to Amrdika. It may be the same as Amreli of the
Anandapura		present day. Identified with the present 15,16,30 Vadnagar. 78.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it belongs. Antarapallika This village was granted 21,37,85. together with another village named Kandhajja to the same donee who resided at Liptikhanda. The present Antroli is probably the village the name of which may be a derivation of Antarapallika. But as there is no village bearing a name resembling Dinnaputra near it confirmation relating to its identification is not possible. It has been identified with Antika Anti 2 miles S.E. of the Flagstation Bhoj between Baroda and Jambusara. In the vicinity of Agustika, 51,52. Aya Vaka may be identified with Aigan,

Bhadranuka ---

Batapallika

Was in the vicinity of Opleta 45 near Dhank. Bhadrenaka cannot be identified.

78.

10 miles north of Nogava.

Lay to the west of Antika

Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Reference
Bhadraraka		To the S.W. of Antika. It is 78 identified with Bhadara, a village 2 miles towards the S.W. of Anti.
Bhadraputtana		Four grants were issued from 26,28, 30,31, the military camp.at this 33.
		and Talaja. It may be identified with Bhabod, 4 miles north-east of Mahuva and 20 miles from Talaja.
Bhattanaka		It may be the same as the vill- 34 age Bhotad, the only village near the above mentioned Udavi.
Bhogaditya	Tel.	It was to the east of Chincha- 51 vadanaka near Lusha.
Bhramarakulya		Identified with Bhamar near 24 Vajpada station on the Mahuva branch.
Bramhapara		This place lay far from 20,24. Vajjadi near Dongar.
Bramilanaka		To the east of Velapadra. The 45 name of the place cannot eludes us.

	Name of the Place	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Reference	e
	Chhadakapadraka	1	It lies 9 miles away from the 39 Shedevadar, which may have been the same as Chhedakapadraka.	
	Chossari	-	May be identified with Chosar, 20 3 miles from Barijadi.	
	Chetiánaka		May be identified with Chotika, 37,43. the terminus of the Thaw-Chotika	
			branch.	
To the same	Dahaka		May be identified with Dhaka, 13 miles S.W. of Lunavada.	
	Dasara		May be village 30 miles far 65 from Kāsara.	
	Dasanaka		On the Delta of the Madhumati 65,74 river.	
	Devalavadra		May be Melondaderoha 48	
	Deyathaligrama		63,73	
	Dhananda		It may be identified with Dha- 69,78 noda which is about 4 miles	
	A 10		N.E. of Karjan.	
	Dinnaka		In the vicinity of Opleta near 39	
			Dhanak. It may probably be the same	
			as the present Daduka, 11 miles	
			S.E. Oplet.	

Name of the Territorial Divi-Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it Place belongs. Near a village Antarapullika. 85. Dinnaputra 74 The donee migrated from the Dvipa place and settled near Mahuva. It is the same as Div, an island in the south of Kathiawad which is in the possession of the Portuguese. Traditionally it was known to be a peninsula but at present it has turned into an island as a result of a sudden innndation. Four Brahmanas are mentioned as 51,52,56. Gahvara emigrants from this place. The name of this ancient city 55,71,72, Girinagar is traceable in Girnar, the name of the hill near Junagadha in Sorath. From the Mauryan (322 B.C.) period down to the Gupta rule in Surastra (468 A.D.) the place was

Surastra.

Giriviligrama

the metropolis of the province of

Dviwedi

Identification and Remarks Reference

	belongs.	
Godrahaka		A place of encampment. May be 77
		Godhra the capital of Pancha-
		mahal district. The sufix 'ka'
		is dropped. From the name of the
		place it appears that there was
		a 'Lake for Cows' near it. Even
		in the present Godhra a large tank
		exists.
Gomutrika		The donee emigrated from this 70
		place and settled at Valabhi.
Gopparavataka		
Jambusara		At present this place is known 59.
		by the same name, the headquar- 50.
		ters of Jambusara Taluka of the
		Broach district.
Jiruka	On our car	May be identified with the villa- 98
		ge Jiyava - Dvivedi.
Josalyasa		66.
Jyotipadra		Probably the same as the present 24.
		Jodia near Jamkhambhalia.
Kalasamako		May be the place now known as 37, 43.
		Katasara.

Name of the Territorial Divi-Place sion to which it Name of the Place Kanakasomaka Karnascmagrama -Kasara

sion to which it belongs.

Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference

It was near Vansalika-river It lay not very far from Khet- 63 aka and be identified with a village of the same name, lying

It was near Vasukiya river

5 miles north-west of Petlad a junction between Anand and

Cambay.

It may be identified with Kun- 88 dhaj, 10 miles S.E. of Dhank and 6 miles S.W. of Uplet.

It must have been in the vici- 13 nity of Anumanjari near Amreli.

This was near Madasara on the 77 coastal line, and be identified with a place named Kotada which is 13 miles to the east of Mahuva.

A vihara was situated at this 69, 76. place. It was near Vala (Duddavihara) and may be identified with Karkolia, about 2 miles to the S.W. of Sihor, and 13 miles from Vala.

Khandhajja

Khuddavediya

Koratapadraka

Kukkuranaka

Name of the Place.	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference
Lesrudka		May be Lusada, a station on	4, 29.
		Jamanagar state railway line.	
Liptikhanda	4-1	It was situated near Dhank.	85, 86.
		The phonetic resemblance of	
		Lipti with this place name	
		itself suggests the identity.	*
Meghāvana		It was near Lusha and Madasa.	66, 68.
		It may be Meghavedar, 3 miles	1000
		south-west of Sihor.	1
Mahichhaka		It lay near Kapadavanj	66.
Mularamapataka		To the N.E. of Desanaka	74
Nandiarkagrams			79
Neradehha	-	May be identified with Neroli	76
Pichchhipalli		Near Valabhi. It may be iden-	67
		tified with Pachhegam, a place	
	a series of the	3 miles to the N.W. of Vala.	
Pippalarunkhal	Li	On the western border of	13
		Anumanji-sthali. It is possi-	
		ble that this place was the	
		same as Pipalia, about 14 mile	8
		south-west of Amreli.	
Pulindaka	-	Not very far frem Khetaka and	59, 93.
		Sivabhagapura. It may be	

Name of the Place.	Territorial Division to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference
	ever dere dere des des deue vers dies jags jags vers des des des des des des des des des de	identified with Pandu, 7 miles north-west of Kalad.	
Purnikala		Two grants were issued from this place.	71,73,81.
Fushamitra		Probably in the vicinity of Chotila.	43
Pushyasamba- pura		The donee emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhi.	64, 77.
Sampadra- vitaka		In the vicinity of Pippalarun-khari.	70.
Sankaravataka		It lay not far from present- day Madkana (incidental refer- ence is made to this place in the Valabhi grants.)	2
Saraswati- vatika		The village is mentioned along with another village Sami-hambara.	15
Sargapuri		It was near Navalakhi (near Vanthali).	34
Savanadika		The grant was issued from a military camp at this place. It may be identified with Savaikot, a place near the fin	
		spot of the grant. It is 9 mi	les

Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks	Reference.
		to the north of Kamlej.	alang dense somer verye disar gillen diffin skript dense vierbe som
Simhapura		Identified with Sihor, 12 miles from Vala. It was the	3, 8, 63. 7, 17.
		original capital of the Gho-	
		hilots before Bhavanagar was founded.	
Sirisimninika		It lay near Kapadvanja.	52, 58.
Sivatratijja g ≇ grama	(May be the same as modern Visali near Lusdi which is 7 miles to the N.E. of Port-	74
Sradhika		Albert Victor. At a distance of one mile to the east of Anti there is a village named Sadhi which may	78
		be identified with Sradhika. It is 7½ miles away from the findspot of the plate Anastu.	
Suryadesa		May be identified with Surji- ali (which may have been anoth name for Surya-palli). The pl	ner
		is at a distance of 2 miles to Timbadi, the findspot.	

Identification and Remarks Reference

	belong	55.		taka managay dilika apay aray daya ayay asan biliy ajika
	Tabhagrama	143	Identified with Timba.	Dvi
	Thanaka		This place was on the Papri-	31, 36.
			mati river and has been iden-	
			tified with Than, a station on	
•			the Morbi Railway.	13 17 18
•	Tramadia		Near Anumanji in Amreli. It	52, 44.
			may be the same as Travada,	- 1
			10 miles S.W. of Amreli.	10 150
	Uisingha		It was near the village	86
			Kundhaj.	
	Udrapadraka			39
	Udumbara		Four Brahmanas are mentioned	51,52,56.
			as emigrants from this place.	
	Unnatta		Near Veraval in the vicinity	23
			of Dombhigrama or Maliya. It	-
			may be identified with Una near	r
			Dilonadar.	F-1 B.1
	Uttapalaka		It was near Bhattanaka, and it	34
			may be identified with Udavi	W. Committee
			near Kamlej which is 7 miles f	rom
			Bhavanagar and 13 miles from V	ala.

Territorial Division to which it

Name of the Place.

Name of the Territorial Divi- Identification and Remarks Reference sion to which it Place. belongs. Vatapadraka The findspot of the plate men- 9, 39. tioning this village is Dhank, and the grant was made to a temple which may have been in the present Vedla near Dhank. Valaprajyaka This village was, as the grant 14. records near a well-known place the name of which cannot be deciphered. Vanditapalli It was a place from where a 52, 60. grant was made and it may have been near Nogava. Vansakatta Probably it was situated next 35,71,86. to Talaja the site of Vansakata. The donee migrated from this 85, 86. Varddhamana place which is the same as Vadhavana. It was the capital of the Chapotakas under Dharanivaraha. The town is named after Varaddhamana Suri, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras. Merutunga, the famous Jaina writer resided at this

place.

1	Name of the Place.	Territorial Divi- sion to which it belongs.	- Identification and Remarks Re	ference
	Varohataka		It was to the east of Navagrama.	59
	Valapadra		Near Chhadukapadraka in the	39
	2001		Hastavapraahara. It may be	
	STATE OF THE PARTY		identified with Valavad, 2 miles	
••	ALES .		west of Sihor.	
	Vatanumaka		It must have been near Sihor and	71
			Hathab, as it is mentioned along	
			with another village in Hathab	
	OF THE STATE OF		while the former place was the	
			donee's residence.	
-	Viraputra		Near Madsar.	30
*	Visalapataka		To the west of Dasanaka.	74: